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ABSTRACT

This volume of CATESOL (California Association of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) Occasional Papers includes the following: "ESL Adult Literacy," by Jack Wigfield; "Language Teaching as a Means to Self Knowledge, Self Acceptance, and Communication with Others," by Beverly Galyean; "Let Your Students Be Actors: Using Videotape to Teach English as a Second Language," by Suzanne M. Griffin; "Coordinated Teaching for Multi-Cultural Students: A Christmas Walking Tour," by Gordon Howell and Nancy Milton; "Techniques of Language Class Observation," by Gordon B. Becktold; "Policy on Services to Limited-English-Speaking Students" (State of California Board of Education); "Individualizing Instruction in the ESL Classroom through Grouping," by Janet G. Fisher; "Back from Wonderland - Reply to the Queen of Hearts," by Alan Marcus; "Teaching Composition to Low-Level ESL Students," by Barry P. Taylor; "On Using the 'National Observer' as an ESOL Teaching Device," by George W. Raney; "Make Your Own ESL Board Game," by Ola Jane Miller; "Bilingual Education and Ethnic Interest," by J. Donald Bowen; "A Comparison of Language Balance in Non-Bilingual Schools," by Robert L. Politzer; "Lau v. Nichols v. HEW," by Glendon F. Drake; and "Some Most Common Grammatical Errors Made in Written English by Chinese Students," by Mo-Shuet Lee. (CFM)

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CATESOL Occational Papers
Number 3 (Winter, 1976-77)

ESL ADULT LITERACY

Jack Wigfield
Alemany Community College Center, San Francisco

Adult literacy in a second language is an important but neglected area both here and in other countries, especially those industrialized countries with large immigrant populations. This paper discusses five problem areas involved with establishing a program in ESL adult literacy: (1) There is very little literacy material written for ESL students; (2) The whole field of reading is in a state of flux; (3) Little research has been done specifically in ESL literacy or adult second language literacy; (4) Teacher training institutions are not training teachers in ESL adult literacy; (5) With no materials, no research, and no training, teachers are unwilling to teach a course in ESL adult literacy.

Various literacy techniques which are being developed at Alemany Community College Center in San Francisco are discussed. These Techniques include the use of a dialogue especially adapted for literacy, the construction of a prose selection, the construction of a cloze procedure, and various tasks to develop spatial relations and letter formation. An extensive bibliography is included.

Instruction in ESL adult literacy is for students who are illiterate in their own language and for students who may be literate in their native language but who can't transfer their literacy skills because English is written so differently.[1] They are illiterate in English for these reasons and not necessarily because English is a new language to them. A number of students have learned some English in the community already and—either for citizenship requirements or to advance in their jobs, or just to learn to read in English—have come to school specifically for literacy skills.

A slightly different version of this paper was presented at the TESOL Convention in New York, March, 1976.

Mr. Wigfield has two decades of ESL teaching experience including assignments in Vietnam and the Philippines. He currently teaches adult ESL and literacy in the San Francisco Community College District and is also a doctoral candidate at Stanford. His article on tone in Vietnamese appeared in CATESOL Occasional Papers No. 2 (1975)

[1] For this paper adult is defined as eighteen years of age and older and illiterate as anyone who can't "...respond to written language." (Bornuth 1973-74) UNESCO's definition is "A person is functionally literate when he has acquired the knowledge and skills in reading and writing which enable him to engage effectively in all those activities in which literacy is normally assumed in his cultural group." (Gray 1956). The U.S. Bureau of Census considers "...anyone fourteen years or older who has completed six years of school as literate." (Bornuth 1973-74). Northcutt (1975) and his associates broadened the definition and then abandoned the term literacy for the term functional competency. For a survey of other definitions see Harman (1974).

Most conventional beginning ESL classes use a text or teacher-created materials. Teachers expect their students quickly to transfer native literacy skills to English. Generally this is a reasonable expectation. However, when no special literacy course is offered, literacy students either drop out of school altogether or feel extremely handicapped.

A recent survey by Donna Ilyin of Alemany Adult Center has shown that what we felt might be a local problem is actually national. Ms. Ilyin sent questionnaires to 350 members of the Adult Special Interest Group of TESOL. One hundred and fifteen responded. Almost half of those who responded had students who were functionally illiterate in their native language. Two thirds of those responding had classes with from 1 to 10 percent illiterate in their native language. The remaining third had classes with between 11 and 75 percent illiterate.

The survey also showed that classes with illiterate students were made up of high percentage of students from non-Roman alphabetic or non-alphabetic writing systems.

Ms. Ilyin asked teachers to list their most severe problems. One of the major problems cited was classes made up of both literate and illiterate students.[2]

Two years ago we decided to look more closely into ESL adult literacy. We found five problems.

First we found very little literacy material written for ESL students. That is not to say that publishers didn't tell us that their ABE (Adult Basic Education) literacy materials were used by ESL classes. To quote from a letter from one of the most commonly quoted literacy houses, "Our basic reading and writing program is... which is used fifty percent of the time for instruction in ESL." Our librarian built up a sizeable section on literacy by responding to publishers' ads specifically referring to ESL literacy. We found a situation in ESL literacy unfortunately similiar to that confronting aural/oral ESL teachers 30 or 40 years ago.

Published literacy materials show a pattern. Students are often asked to "Circle the picture that begins with the same sound as the first picture in the row." In one book the student is faced with pictures of baskets, a baby, and a doorknob. While it is conceivable that they might identify baby, it seems unlikely that they could get basket or doorknob. On the next page they are asked to mark forks as having the same initial sound as fire hydrant. Using pictures such as these might be a workable technique for native speakers, but they present a very different task to ESL students.

Let's suppose that the ESL student has a vocabulary large enough to identify the picture. The problem then arises as to whether some students can "hear" the sounds they are asked to identify as different. On page 8 of the book mentioned above, students must distinguish among pictures of a vase, a watch, and a van. Students from a number of languages would find a /v/ /w/ contrast difficult to distinguish and to produce, but no consideration of that problem is mentioned in the book, a book which its publishers have been advertising as suitable for ESL classes.

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[2] For the international situation, including a survey of the U.S., see Literacy Discussion. 1971, 2:4 (Autumn).

Some literacy texts refer to "...those native speakers who cannot make all the distinctions in sound that create meaning in the standard language...like pin-pen or cot-caught." These texts are closer to our needs. But what follows that hopeful beginning in that particular text is page after page of lists of words followed by page after page of numbered phrases and then numbered sentences all having nothing to do with each other. The motivation to read must be enormous to keep people working in this until they get to page 42 at which time "...you (the students) have now seen all the letters that are used to write English..." and connected prose in a five sentence story is presented. Harman (1974, p. 116) found that this type of presentation "...has been observed to encourage attrition from programs."

While literacy texts seem to agree on a standard block form for printing, there doesn't seem to be a standard form for cursive writing. Furthermore, the type of letter that is usually shown in baroque, and it is not always the type of letter that you find in casual notes on Christmas cards or other sources of cursive writing by native writers. And what is more unfortunate, the one book we found devoted to handwriting for ESL students distorts the letter by making it wider in some parts to show "These are the hard parts. They need extra work." And even more devasting, the small numbers shown with the letter "...mark the end of pencil movements in making letters." But they are not shown in the order of the stroke so that for capital S, 1 appears at the top right part of the S rather than where the stroke begins at the lower left part of the S. All of this allows the student to continue shaping forms rather than writing letters. Some books include arrows, but students tend to copy arrows.

Sharon Meeker and Donald Price of Fremont Adult School in Sacramento have written their own Writing Book and incorporated some good features. One in particular is to draw a pencil indicating where the stroke for a letter begins. Another is to include simple pictures showing the meaning of the word the student is writing. Hopefully in their revision they will drop their baroque capital cursive letters for block printed forms.

Literacy texts generally follow the traditional terminology of "long" and "short" vowels to distinguish plane ("long") from plan ("short") and eat ("long") from it ("short") and so forth. But no mention is made of the real differences in length between fate (short) and fade (long) or between fate (short) and fad (long). These are real-time differences which an Arab speaker, for example, can distinguish more easily than formant structure. Venezky (1970, p. 14) finds the use of "long" and "short" in English "...neither historically accurate nor mnemonically useful" for native students and certainly the same can be said for ESL students.

The second problem that we found was that the whole field of teaching reading is in a great state of flux. Frank Smith (1974, p. 762) has characterized the state of inquiry into all aspects of reading as "...a welter of preconceptions, misconceptions, and general confusion." If that is true for native speakers learning to read, consider what it means for ESL literacy.

The third problem was not being able to find much research on ESL literacy. The basic question is how much research on reading in general is applicable to ESL literacy because until specific research is done in ESL, we must depend on reading research in general.

Evelyn Hatch's survey of research in ESL reading includes a number of interesting studies but none on adult literacy (Hatch 1973). Studies of whether a person should be taught to read his own language before he is taught to read a second language deal with children and these studies leave the problem "still open."

Hatch took a study by Serpell (1968) which pointed to phonological interference in reading in a second language and tested her own students. She found that students underlined GRIN in questions like the following:

> Which of these are colors?
> blue grin happy yellow red

We have similar evidence. Many of our students, for example, write COLD as the opposite to HATE.

Hatch summarizes her article with these words:

> The research in reading a second language is both interesting and extremely confusing. But as a matter of fact, we really know little about how one reads a first language let alone a second. I'm not certain that the research would be less confusing if there were more of it, but there certainly are many areas which need to be investigated. (p. 8)

Not long ago there was a conference on ESL adult literacy (Bartley 1972), but there is nothing in the article following that conference that tells us what was discussed. Did they arrive at a standard script for ESL students? Did they talk in terms of phoneme/grapheme correspondences and if so what if a student can't hear the differences being shown? Is there any research on lateralization in adult second language literacy? How much research on bilingualism is applicable to ESL adult literacy? Is an ESL student who speaks a language with three vowel contrasts more similar to a deaf person learning to read and therefore should the emphasis be on what methods can be used to find out what a particular class or students wants to read? What eye-movement research is applicable to ESL adult literacy? Are we wrong in assuming that someone can become literate in second language before he becomes literate in his native language? Is there evidence that students transfer words learned in reading to their oral vocabulary? What happens to verbal mediation in ESL literacy? What problems arise with pictures which are used to make the reading "easier"? Are pictures more effective than translations? Can we talk in terms of "integrative" versus "instrumental" motivation in ESL literacy? What are the major variables that affect speed in learning to read a second language: Age? previous education? native language? literacy in the native language? being multilingual? being employed? amount of daily contact with native readers or speakers? regularity of attendance in class? the individuals's socio-economic history? nutrition and general health? a "method"? the teacher? If we seem impatient with glowing accounts of conferences, it is because they neither supply us with any answers nor probe for better questions.

The fourth problem we found was that none of us had received any training in our ESL, linguistic, psychology, or general education courses in ESL adult literacy. Where could we go for training or where could we find people already trained?

We decided to take a survey of nine leading universities which award either a PhD, an MA, or extensive training in ESL. We asked each university to return a postcard on which they were asked to mark one of the following:

___We offer teacher training in ESL adult literacy as a separate course.
(The text is______________________)
___We offer training in ESL adult literacy as part of a regular ESL methodology course.
(The reading includes______________)
___We offer no training in ESL adult literacy.

All the universities returned the postcard. The results were as follows:

Separate course	1
Part of a methods course	2
No course	6

The one university that offers a special course uses Frank Smith's Understanding Reading as its text. Since that book doesn't deal with ESL literacy specifically, we wrote to the professor who teaches the course for additional information. So far, we have received no reply.

One university that offers training in ESL as part of a course listed these authors: Allen and Campbell, Croft, Corder, and Rivers. An impressive list in ESL, but one thing struck us. One of those authors responded to our questionnaire for his own university and checked NO COURSE GIVEN. Furthermore he failed to mention his own book. A reading of the book reveals why. There is nothing about ESL adult literacy in it.

One university which offers training as part of a course in ESL listed its readings as a "discussion of basic essentials of reading and writing skills development." Our questionnaire, by asking for specific readings, tried to avoid answers like that.

People from some universities wrote long letters in reply to the questionnaire. One chairman wrote that although no course as such was offered, students encounter literacy problems in supervised-teaching courses and help is available to them from members of the department. And that department is nationally recognized as being strong.

One university respondent wrote that ESL literacy is discussed in a course on materials development and students are encouraged to do independent studies in literacy. Students at this university are allowed to register in a course and work with an ESL literacy teacher full-time in the field.

One university that offers training as part of a course suggested Eleanor Gibson and Harry Levin's The Psychology of Reading and the Harvard Education Review, 40:2 (May) 1970. While neither of these references deals with ESL, they both have information on literacy which is applicable to ESL.

This small survey seems to indicate that we are in 1976 ahead (but how much?) of the situation in Canada in 1971 where "...there has not yet been any formal attempt to prepare teachers for literacy work among adult immigrants." (MacKenzie and Aeimers 1971, p. 44).

These four problems generated our fifth: Nobody wanted to teach a course in ESL adult literacy. "What do we do?" they asked. "What book can we use?" "We didn't get any training."

I would like now to present some new ideas which have been suggested for native adult literacy and then to outline the materials and techniques we have been developing in ESL literacy at Alemany Adult Center in San Francisco.

The native literacy suggestions come from David Harman (1974). After a discouraging look at world literacy efforts, Harman set up a model program. Keep in mind that these suggestions were made for native speakers.

Literacy instruction per se is not an overt objective of the literacy program. It is introduced covertly through its use in the instructional materials as an instructional tool. The materials and the method are inseparable from the content they present (p. 112).

The Harman materials come in the form of a looseleaf binder and a series of separate sheets of cards designed to be inserted into the binder. Students "build up their own books" (p.113).

Stress is laid on the content of the experience rather than reading instruction and "since that content is derivative from specific local conditions, the production of a set of materials to be used on a national or even regional scales may well be counterproductive" (p. 113).

The sheets or cards contain pictures of what is being read. The text explains the picture.

Over a period of time the same word appears many times.

There is no termination point in this program. It is an on-going enterprise and "literacy abilities will result over a period of time" (p. 115).

Adult literacy is also aimed at its spread and usage among the younger generation. Literacy disseminates information, creates a new means of communication, and builds up a foundation among the new generation.

Traditional literacy programs sequence their materials. Each lesson is contingent on the previous ones. That is unfortunate and leads to high attrition. "Actual reading abilities...will develop over time as a function of continued experience with numerous texts" (p. 116).

The entire Harman curriculum is conceived of as a composite of several self-contained units. Each unit is complete. There is a substantive reward with each session. A recipe is taught in its entirety and not on the installment plan.

We developed our program at Alemany before we read these suggestion, but there are, happily, many similarities. There is also one striking difference. Instead of literacy trickling down to the younger generation, it is our students' children who help their parents. We must confess with Harman, however, that our program is based on experience and not "empirical evidence" (p. 142).

Students at Alemany receive a page with a lesson each day. The lesson is written with a particular class in mind and seldom put in final form more than a week before the class meets.[3]

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[3] It might be helpful here to describe some of the classes we have had at Alemany. The Center is one of several day adult centers in the adult division of the San

Students are encouraged to put the pages in a Accogrip Binder. By the end of the semester they have made up their own book.

The class begins each day with a dialogue. A dialogue rather than a prose selection or a list of unrelated sentences allows us to present English in a very simple but natural way. We generally write--but we don't speak--in

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Francisco Community College District. Except for typing, this center offers only ESL from beginning to advanced. Classes meet two hours five days a week. On the opening day in 1974, the literacy class attendance was eight. By April of 1975 we had an average daily attendance of thirty-two. No publicity was given for this course. It still appears on the official list of classes as English 50. The new Master Plan for the district, however, will include an outline and description of the course for the first time.

The language composition of three classes was:

LANGUAGE	JAN 1975	AUG 1975	MAY 1976
Arabic (Yemen)	15	10	13
Assyrian (Iran)	1	2	0
Cantonese	4	10	4
Cambodian	0	2	4
Greek	1	1	2
Hindi	0	1	2
Japanese	4	2	0
Javanese	1	0	0
Korean	10	3	3
Mandarin	1	1	0
Spanish	4	3	3
Tagalog	1	0	0
Thai	1	0	0
Vietnamese	0	9	3

In August, 1975, there were 16 males and 22 females. The average age was 34. The age span was from 18 to 79. The average education was 4.2 years. The range was from 0 to 12 years.

A comparison of the literacy class with Alemany Center as a whole by David Keoppel of San Francisco State University showed definite differences. Literacy students came mainly from non-Roman alphabetic or non-alphabetic writing systems. Arabic students constituted 3.3% of the school population byt 15.4% of the literacy class. Korean students 8.7% of the school population and 23.1% of the literacy class. Chinese students 29.7% of the school population and 20.5% of the literacy class. Literacy students had completed fewer years of schooling: 6.7 years versus 10.4 for the total school population. That total dropped to 4.2 years the following semester for the literacy class. 17.2% of the school population was employed but only 15.3% were employed in the literacy class. That figure is relatively high, however, since a number of students are housewives and not in the job market. It may be further evidence that "modern advances" lead to the spread of literacy and are not a precondition to them. (See Harman 1974, pp. 12-13).

complete sentences. Sentences in a dialogue can be short (Where? versus Where do you like to fish?) without any loss of meaning.[4] We can concentrate on intonation in short segments (Me? versus me.) Dialogues can be constructed so that the second person is given a very easy task which brings him into the reading process early. Consider the following dialogue:

1: Don't, don't, don't.
2: What?
1: Everything is don't.
2: I see.
1: Don't smoke. Don't talk. Don't eat here.
2: Sorry.
1: Don't, don't, don't.
2: Goodbye.
1: Don't go.

The reading task for the second person is considerably easier, thus allowing participation of all students.

The dialogues in early lessons are made up of sentences used in classroom activities. The dialogue the first day was as follows:

1: Make a line.
2: A line?
1: Yes. Make a line.
2: Ok.
1: Good.

The next classroom activity and one which would be repeated for several weeks was to go to the board and make 2 horizontal lines and start printing and working on space relations, something that causes particular difficulties for Arabic and Farsi writers.

The dialogue is read orally. ESL students need a great deal of oral practice. Native speakers don't. Oral reading has been characterized by M.P. West in these terms: "Reading aloud tends to establish a direct path between the eyes and the voice without disturbing the brain at all" (See Kelly 1969). But West must have been reacting to older methods of teaching.[5] Oral reading is now felt to be a quick assessment of a student's reading ability (Mackworth, 1976). It can give a teacher a great deal of information about a student's problems and competencies, both of which are necessary for preparing materials.

In studying the eye movements of Arabic and English readers on non-linguistic stimuli, Metwalli (1975) found a "clear cut difference at point of entry." We have evidence of an Arab student reading the sentence "It is cheap" as "Cheap." We feel that that not only corraborates Metwalli's findings but tells us a lot about where that student is. We can get that kind of data only from oral reading.

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[4] Kenneth Goodman in Meyers (1976 p.6, Sec I) questions this but his examples come from children's books that use "See Spot run" type of sentences.

[5] Consider this scene from early 19th Century America. "The schoolhouse stood in a rather lonely but pleasant situation, just at the food of a woody hill, with a brook running close by and a formidable birch tree growing at one end of it. From hence, THE LOW MURMUR OF HIS PUPILS' VOICES, conning over their lessons, might be heard in a drowsy summer's day like the hum of a beehive interrupted now and then by the authoritative voice of the master in the tone of menace or command..." (Washington Irving, The Legend of Sleepy Hollow)

When we first decided to use a dialogue in reading instruction, we were greatly influenced by Oller and Tullius (1973), who had studied the eye movements of native readers, ESL readers, and EFL readers and tentatively concluded that while some were exorting students to read at least four words at a glance, Oller and Tullius saw the problem as one of "central processing rather than peripheral skill." That is, in ESL we are dealing with readers who have problems with short-term memory, not problems with eye span. It made good sense, then, that our sentences be short--one word in many cases--and as close to conversation as possible.

Mackworth (1975) and McConkie and Rayner (1975) have made us modify our ideas but only slightly. Mackworth has developed a Digital Eye Camera for studying eye movements. His research has led to the development of a model of reading which includes an "iconic store" separate from short-term memory. Reading is largely predicting and the larger the store in the iconic storage, the greater is the predictive power. The number of words a reader can put in his iconic store is restricted by the number that he can read in a second. One of Mackworth's experiments showed that "when children could read two words per second, they solved the problem four times as fast as those who could only read one word a second. (Doubling the input quadruples the thinking rate!)" (Mackworth 1975, p.11).

McConkie and Rayner (1975) studying eye span found "Specific letter and word-shape information were acquired no further than ten character positions to the right of the fixation point" (p. 578).

This research has led us to justify a one-word approach at the beginning but to move as quickly as posssible to two words which would generally be included within a ten character position from the fixation point.

One method of increasing eye span and avoiding citation intonation is to have two students compete with two others to see which pair can read the dialogue fastest. Time your students and put each pair's time on the board.

Content has plagued us. Consider this dialogue:

1: Sleep, sleep, sleep.
2: What?
1: Sleep.
2: Me?
1: No. Me.
2: You?
1: Yes. I like to sleep.
2: Ok. Go to sleep.
1: ZZZZZZZZZZZZZZZ

Freire, Harman, and Northcutt all would look at this and shake their heads, granted. But they are dealing with native speakers.

In order to find the interests of one group of ABE students (Brown 1968), fictitious book titles were composed such as Your Family, Sailing on the Dangerous Atlantic, and Growing Plants in Your Livingroom. Students were asked to check the titles that appealed to them the most. It is likely that ESL students would respond differently, so the results of this study are of little use to us, but the method is. The problem in ESL is getting those titles into fourteen languages for the literate students and reading the titles to the illiterate students.

Newman and Northcutt (n.d.) suggest writing to Bill Rivera, AIM, World Education, 1414 Sixth Avenue, New York, 10018 for "an excellent method of conducting such needs assessments" which can be used as topics for dialogues.

Sticht, Caylor, Kern and Fox (1972) set up behavioral objectives or subject matter areas in an ingenious way. Their study dealing with literacy for specific tasks in the army is important for those who teach literacy in on-the-job-training programs. In our situation, students have a great variety of specific needs for literacy. This excellent work is not of help to us, either.

Construction of a dialogue takes consideration, too. The model that we use is a comic strip. The ideal strip is Peanuts by Charles Schultz. Consider strip:

PIG PEN: Some day I'd like to own an English sheep dog.
PIG PEN: They must be very brave.
PIG PEN: I admire the way they stand guard over the sheep.
SNOOPY: Actually, they're just afraid to be alone.

The linguistic material is too difficult, but the feeling that you have when you finish four sentences is that you have read something not altogether trivial.

Dialogues have been around for a long time. This one was suggested around 1934 (Gray, 1934?).

1: I wish to rent a house.
2: How large a house do you wish?
1: I wish 4 rooms--a living room, a kitchen and 2 bedrooms.
2: The house at 1214 Main Street is about what you want.
1: I know that house. How much is the rent each month?
2: $35.00.
1: Will you have it painted?
2: Yes, but not until May.
1: Very well, I will rent it.

This is too long. The sentences are too long and complicated. "Wish" has certainly given way to "want" in 1976. But students would have fun with that $35.00.

Newman and Northcutt (n.d.) like this type of dialogue:

1: What are these?
2: They're aspirin tablets.
1: When to you take aspirin?
2: You take aspirin when you have a headache.
1: How do you ask for an aspirin?
2: You ask for a bottle of aspirin. etc.

Newman and Northcutt in their emphasis on content forget what Harman has made a good point of, namely, that this type of deadly dull difficult material causes students to leave, and attendance no matter--let's face it--what the content, is all important.

But Northcutt's study is important. What we suggest is that he take an area of competency and re-write it for literacy students. For example, we have written dialogues from the California Driver's Handbook for regular ESL classes such as: (See page 16)

1: There's a stop sign ahead.
2: Ok. Stop.
1: Where?
2: Behind the limit line.
1: What's a limit line?
2: The white line across the lane.
1: I see. Ok.

For a literacy class this can be simplified to:

1: I see a stop sign.
2: Where?
1: Ahead.
2: Ok. Stop.
1: Where?
2: Behind the limit line.
1: Limit line?
2: Yes. The white line.
1: Ok.

A visitor to the literacy class recently remarked that the dialogue was exactly the same thing that is done in many ESL classes. Wrong! The dialogue in an oral/aural class is a brief sample of the language in context. It is given as a canned dialogue only after the two students involved have had some sort of independent communication ranging from "Hi" to "I almost got run over by a bus on the way to school." If any memorizing takes place, it takes place in the literacy class with the memorization of a visual form and its meaning (Wigfield, 1974).

The dialogue supplies us with words which are used in a drill which is meant to illustrate the relationship between letters and sounds. Whether this is necessary to reading or not is debatable (Smith, 1974). And with students who have a minimal native vowel inventory, the ability to "hear" all the contrasts in English takes a long time. It may be better for those students to concentrate on techniques used by the deaf, the rules governing the structure of the spelling itself (Gibson, Shurcliff, and Yonas 1970).

At this point we have opted for the traditional phoneme/grapheme approach, first because as ESL teachers, we want to teach as much of the phonology as possible and literacy is a way to "see" English phonology. And as had been pointed out earlier (Hatch 1973) students misread because of phonetic interference. They see grin and "hear" it as green and associate it with a color.[6]

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[6] If you think we can restrict ourselves to the research on mature readers, study

The drill for teaching sound-symbol relationships takes the form of writing a dialogue word with rule-governed spelling on the blackboard. *Sleep*, for example. The students respond. The *sl* is erased and *w* is written to produce *weep*. The students respond. If they can't, or if there are a number of errors, the teacher models the word. The teacher erases the *p* and substitutes *k* producing *week*. The students respond. With this technique, going rather quickly and depending on the students to reply or guess without a model, we can elicit these words in a few seconds: *leek*, *week*, *seek*, *meek*, *meet*, *feet*, *jeep*, *creep*.[7]

The trouble with this drill from the students' point of view is that they want to know the meaning of each word. We discourage defining each word for two reasons: They wouldn't remember the meanings and it would take too long. But we assure them that each example is an actual word. We never use a nonsense word in this drill. In formal tests, nonsense words are important but not in class drills. Students will play "games" but with reality.

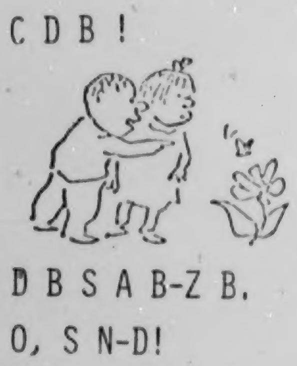
We take up writing in the second major part of the two-hour session. The early lessons deal with simple letter formation. We start with capital block printing. Block printing is easier, it's always acceptable and sometimes it's asked for on forms that call for printing. And in addition we have adopted the block printed form as a capital letter in cursive writing as have many standard English writers.

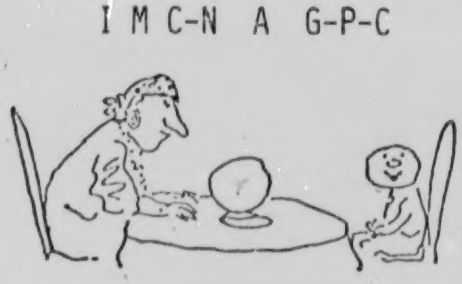
Following Gibson, we have broken down the upper case letters to distinctive features. While Gibson was interested in this for reading purposes, we see it of value in writing. Letters are presented in groups with similar distinctive features. The alphabet is not taught in its regular ABC order. We have grouped letters in the following manner:

BPRD
MNWV
LTFEHI
YKXZA
OQUCGJS

---

your own strategies in working out these sentences.


C D B !
D B S A B-Z B.
O, S N-D!



[7] For those who have trouble bringing up words with regular spelling, see P. R. Hanna. 1966. *Phoneme-grapheme Correspondences as Cues to Spelling Improvement*, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education & Welfare.

After basic letter formation practice, the first task students are given is to write their names, family name first, in block letters. We ask for family name first and severely complicate this task because we have found that that is almost always the order that printing is asked for.

Students tend to draw letters rather than to print or write them. Therefore, we ask students to start writing on the blackboard. The teacher can make a model stroke or distinctive feature which the students observe and copy. As they copy, the teacher can tell at a glance if they have caught the direction and spacial relation of the feature. There is room for arbitrariness. Which stroke do you make first for X? And it's debatable whether O goes clockwise or counter-clockwise.[8]

The blackboard is extremely helpful in dealing with large groups of people. At this early stage, you simply have to watch people in their fundamental movements and orientation to space. There are generally some students who won't participate. Blackboard work for some with elementary formal education represents an unpleasant return to "childish" activities. To others it means publicly exposing their inability to write. We try to stop blackboard work as soon as possible for these reasons and because it's a task of limited usability and transferability.

The daily lesson also contains model letters. We now color code the distinctive features for order, but direction is still a problem. When we used arrows, students tended to copy the arrow. This is indeed a tender stage.

We have found few arguments for delaying the teaching of cursive writing. And we never teach lowercase printed forms. The lower case letter is only a recognition task for reading. Color coding for cursive letters has been less successful than for block printing. Backstrokes along the same line and transitions from one letter to another are extremely difficult.

Bibson and Levin (1975, p.196) have a sample paragraph written in a variety of cursive styles illustrating the "remarkable capacity the human organism has for 'perceptual generalization'." Further study might show that we expect too much "perceptual generalization" at the beginning in literacy, but to date we can underscore "remarkable."

Copying a model is a legitimate practice at the beginning in literacy, but students tend to carry it beyond the necessary point. To develop some independence and to present vocabulary, we use a drill called "Opposites." A word is listed such as good and beside it we put three blanks to suggest its opposite, bad. Many words are taken from the beginning dialogue or from the stories which appear at the end of the lesson. One story, for example, had the sentence, "Cable cars are noisy." In the opposites drill we listed QUIET _ _ _ _ _.

We also take words for the Opposites drill from the American Heritage Word Frequency rank list (Carroll, Davies, Richman, 1971). The first hundred words in frequency (column one) give us these possible opposites:

---

[8] Oddly enough we have found that Arabic and English writers tend to go to the opposite way from their general writing direction.

to	from
in	out
you	I
that	this
on	off
with	without
his	her
they	we
all	none
there	here
your	my
up	down
then	now
she	he
many	few
some	most
these	those
into	out of
more	less
like	hate
him	her
no	yes
over	under
find	lose
water	land
long	short
little	big
after	before

Word lists are the worst way to introduce vocabulary. As Keller (1975) rightly points out, many words have a great number of meanings. Class is over. But *Class is under. And the grammars of opposites are not always the same. He has all the money. But *He has none the money. But this drill has been a method of making students more adventurous, more willing to take the plunge.

Later in the semester the writing drill takes the form of a note. A note seemed like the most practical kind of writing that students could do. Notes call for dates. Dates are asked for on income tax forms, application, supermarket credit forms, and checks. The ordering of the month and day generally differs from other languages as well.

Notes show register. A colon as opposed to a comma and Dear Ali, versus Ali, versus Dear Mr. Murshed all show distance or formality.

Even a short note requires paragraphing.

Notes can produce effects just as oral communication can. As Harman (1974) has suggested, writing must be seen as an effective additional means of communication. We wrote notes, for example, to the staff secretaries at Alemany asking them to visit the class. They all visited and in some cases wrote a note back to each student.

At the beginning of the year, writing a note is simply copying a note. The next step is to get students to compose a note orally and let them copy it from the blackboard. Following this, we mix up the words from the note they suggest and get them to sort out the grammar. The next step is to write a note to which they must write an answer. The last step is to get them to write an independently created note. Some students need all these phases, but we encourage students to get on their own as soon as posssible.

Each lesson ends with two prose reading passages. The first selection is a regular prose selection usually based on the subject matter presented in the dialogue. It is never over thirty-five words. We try to be as redundant as possible. It is never modeled by the teacher as the dialogue is. Students volunteer to read it. The number who do is a good way to evaluate its difficulty and interest.

The second selection is a cloze procedure (Taylor, 1953). We cloze every eighth word. We try to continue the same subject matter as the dialogue or the other prose selection. We try to be as repetitious in grammar and vocabulary as possible.

For example, the prose selection accompanying the dialogue on page 8 of this paper was:

> Look around. You can see many signs. The signs say DON'T. Don't run. Don't talk. Don't eat here. Don't drive fast.
>
> I Don't like DON'T.

The cloze passage continues this idea:

> I like to eat, but I don't_____________to
> smoke. I like to walk, but______________
> don't like to run. I like movies, _______
> I don't like TV.

The cloze task is extremely difficult, but it represents the best evaluation of a student's independence in reading. It represents silent reading for comprehension. Like the independent writing of a note, being able to cloze a passage gives us the evidence we want of the attainment of independence in reading which, in one context anyway, is literacy.

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LANGUAGE TEACHING AS A MEANS TO SELF KNOWLEDGE, SELF ACCEPTANCE, AND COMMUNICATION WITH OTHERS

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Many factors contribute to successful second language learning. Recently, the factors considered to be the most important in acquiring a second language are 1) A systematic approach to the teaching of the second language; 2) Positive attitudes towards oneself and one's cultural group.[1]

The second factor is the subject of this article. Positive attitudes towards oneself are directly related to three primary factors: 1) knowledge of oneself; 2) acceptance on oneself; 3) communication of oneself.[2] It is precisely these three factors that need be incorporated into language learning programs to complete the naturally motivating cycle of finding a second language necessary and meaningful to one's own life. When learners understand that their most basic life needs are clarified, and that the means for fulfilling these needs are within reach, and that their language causes both the clarification and the discussion of fulfillment, they will prize the language as essential to their survival.

In designing a curriculum for language teaching and learning, curriculum planners and teachers need keep in mind the three points cited earlier; that positive attitudes towards oneself are directly related to self knowledge, self acceptance, and self communication. Language learning strategies built around these themes assure the learner the opportunity of self reflection and subsequent self knowledge. Classroom environments inviting openness and trust assure the learner that his/her questions, self explorations, and personal knowledge will be both accepted and appreciated, thus inviting him/her to accept in loving fashion whatever new information comes to him/her about him/herself. And finally, in such trusting environments, the learner will feel comfortable sharing personal stories and discussing values, needs, feelings, and concerns.

In recent years, several educational and psychological research strategies have manifested themselves in professional circles. These strategies are available for teacher use and can be applied to any subject matter. They enable the learner to engage in a process of self reflection, acceptance, and communication while encountering the subject matter at hand. A program called "Language from

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A slightly different version of this paper was presented at the CATESOL Conference in Sacramento, April, 1976.

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[1] Saville, M., and R. Troike. 1973. Handbook of Bilingual Education. Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

[2] Rogers, Carl, and Barry Stevens. 1967. Person to Person: The Problem of Being Human. Lafayette, California, Real People Press.

Within" has been developed at the Confluent Education Development and Research Center in Santa Barbara. This program has collated several growth and awareness strategies and incorporated them into language learning programs for foreign languages, ESL, and Bilingual Education. Each of the strategies corresponds to one or more of the basic life questions: Who am I? Who in my world is important to me? Where am I going with my life choices? These three questions are considered to be the most basic, the most natural, and the most energizing to human development.[3]

The teaching strategies found in the program "Language from Within" are related to each of the three questions and to various points of grammar. It is for the individual teacher to decide where to incorporate them into the lesson. They are used to supplement rather than to replace already existing textual materials; thus they may be used with any texts, materials, or methodologies. The following are strategies excerpted from the booklet *Language from Within*.[4]

The first set of strategies is related to the question *Who am I?*

1. *Directions*:

Select answers to the following open ended statements:

I am a person who is______________________________
likes______________________________
wants______________________________
hopes______________________________
feels______________________________
tries______________________________
believes______________________________
wonders______________________________
fears______________________________
is certain______________________________
says______________________________

When the students have practiced these (it is not necessary to give all of them at the same time), then they adapt the statements to other tenses.

I am a person who was____________ is____________ will be____________.
liked____________ likes____________ will like____________.
wanted____________ wants____________ will want____________.

When the students are familiar with the procedure then the teacher can conduct a question-answer session based on the above statements.

At what age did you want______________________________?
At what age will you want______________________________?
At what age were you______________________________?
At what age will you be______________________________?
When did you wonder______________________________?
When will you wonder______________________________?

---

[3] Brown, George, Thomas Yeomans, and Liles Grizzard (eds.). 1975. *The Live Classroom*. New York, Viking Press.

[4] Galyean, Beverly. 1976. *Language from Within: A Handbook of Teaching Strategies for Personal Growth in the Language Classes*. Santa Barbara, California: (CEDARC, Box 30128, Santa Barbara 93105).

It is important that the teacher remember the earlier responses of the students so that in posing these questions, the actual content of the student is used for the language practice.

2. Directions:

Describe yourself using the following terms:
1. What color are you Now? At home? At school?
2. What animal describes you Now? At home? At school?
3. What food describes you Now? At home? At school?
4. What automobile describes you Now? At home? At school?
5. What furniture describes you Now? At home? At school?

This exercises may be embellished by the use of colors. If drawing materials are available to the students, have them illustrate their responses. label them in the target language, and discuss them.

The second set of strategies is related to the question Who in my world is important to me?

3. Directions:

1. Respond to the following question:

   Who are the five most important persons in your life at this time?

2. Describe in one sentence what each of these persons does for you. In what way is each important to you?

3. Next to each preson's name write a word or two which describes this person's feelings towards you. For example:

Mother: warm, open, hopeful, concerned
Father: caring, exacting, directive, generous

In these examples the student feels his/her mother feels warm, open, hopeful, and concerned. The father feels caring, exacting, directive, and generous.

4. Directions:

Imagine that you are now five years old. Who is the most important person in your life?

Now you are ten years old. Who is the most important person in your life?
Now you are fifteen years old. Who is the most important person in your life?
Now you are twenty years old. Who is the most important person in your life?
Now you are twenty-five years old. Who is the most important person in you life?
(Continue into the future)

The third set of strategies is related to the question Where am I going with my life choices?

5. Directions:

Respond to the following questions:

1. You have $100. What are you doing with it?
2. You have an open school program. What do you choose to study?
3. You have a free travel pass. Where do you go?
4. You have five job opportunities. Which do you choose?
5. You have a newspaper. What do you read?
6. You have a television. What program do you watch?
7. You have a free evening. What do you do?

6. Directions:

Reflect back on your life up to this point. Respond to the following questions:

1. What is one important decision you've made?
2. What is one important item you've purchased?
3. What is one important book you've read?
4. What is one important film you've seen?
5. Who is one important person you've met?

Now consider your life today and answer the same questions:

1. What is one important decision you're making?
2. What is one important item you're purchasing?

7. Directions:

I will lead you in a guided fantasy. Close your eyes and take deep breaths until you feel yourself relax. In this fantasy journey you are magical, all powerful, and you will be able to travel anywhere you wish. Go, now, to a beautiful place that you find refreshing. You really like being here in this place. You feel relaxed, comfortable, accepted. When you are at this place, look around and take careful note of the environment. See if you are alone or if you are with others. (Pause.) As you are looking around feeling relaxed and rather light hearted, you decide to sit down. Do this now. (Pause.) As you are sitting you begin thinking about your past life. You see important persons, events, places, and you see yourself making important decisions. These decisions in some way relate to your being where you are today. The people, places, and events are also important to you for in some way they have helped you to be where you are at this time in your life. Give yourself some time to examine these items. (Pause.) When you feel finished, slowly come back to us here in the room. (Pause until everyone has opened his/her eyes.)

I'd like you to write what happened in your journey. When everyone has written an account, we'll take time to share them with each other.

If colors are available, it adds to the reflective process to have the students illustrate this fantasy, and then to describe it in the target language.

It is recommended that teachers wishing to incorporate these strategies into the regular curriculum first experience them on a personal basis in order to decide which strategies work best for themselves, and consequently, which ones they feel most confident in using with their students. Values questions such as those offered by the "Language from Within" model invite individuals to explore personal belief systems, and to share them with others. Teacher comfort and assuredness in disclosing personal material is central to interpersonal dialogue in the class. The students will model the teacher's level of openness and depth.

Each teacher chooses where, when, and how to incorporate the strategies into regular lessons. Some teachers begin by deciding cognitive lesson objectives and then select an appropriate strategy which will enable students to practice a designated language structure by discussing self reflective material. Other teachers begin with an affective theme such as "An important decision I've recently made" and then select various language structures that enable students to discuss the theme while learning or reviewing the particular language matrix.

This article names but a few strategies. Hundreds are available for classroom use and are aligned with selected points of grammar. Teachers using these strategies on a regular basis are reporting that their students become highly energized and engaged in using the target language. They seem anxious to speak about themselves and to hear the stories of others.

Acclimating oneself to personalized teaching demands a three-fold mode of thinking. Personalized as used in the "Language from Within" framework means considering the "whole" growth of individuals. This calls for learning objectives to be stated in three domains of individual activity: cognitive, interactive, and affective. Teachers in our program consider the language skills to be mastered, a particular manner of class interaction, and a personal reflection to be explored. All three exist as one confluent process. Our rationale is based on the assumption that students of today are demanding a curriculum that assists them not only to learn cognitive materials, but also to form close relationships with others, and to understand themselves and their own values constituting basic life meaning systems. This affective content provides the energy and direction for meeting individual needs for achieving personal identity and worth, connectedness with others, and power over one's life and choices.[5]

"Language from Within" is more than a program of teaching strategies. It is the belief of each teacher that the classroom, especially the language classroom, can be an arena of personal growth, human relating, and at the same time, the place where individuals learn the skills of language development basic to any self learning. It is a known fact, or perhaps even more true, a commonly shared experience, that we know ourselves by listening to what we say about ourselves. And we describe ourselves in terms of what we sense or feel about ourselves.[6] Language proceeds from within, achieves public exposure, is received and validated by others, returns within an individual, and is available for new insightful learning about oneself. In this manner language is the precious tool of self knowledge and acceptance effected in benevolent communication with others. And the language class is an appropriate environment where language may be learned and practiced in the context of what it does at best, and that is, to expand an individual's repertoire of personal knowledge concerning his or her self, relations with others, and values influencing life choices.

Two major factors contributing to successful second language learning were cited at the beginning of this article. The second of which, "positive attitudes toward oneself," results from teaching with personal growth strategies and from designing learning objectives reflective of the three confluent domains of natural learning: cognitive, interactive, and affective. It is our shared experience that the "Language from Within" strategies and activities cause certain meaningful events to happen which enable students to develop positive self attitudes while practicing the target language. When the natural "meaning nodes" of needs, concerns, and interests are tapped and used for language practice, individuals are drawn to reflect upon and to clarify personal meanings and to hear the same from others. The language being learned is, then, the language loved, because it serves to focus on, to describe, to define, and to accept the identity of each person it knows.

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California Association - Teachers of
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CATESOL Occasional Papers
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LET YOUR STUDENTS BE ACTORS: USING VIDEOTAPE TO TEACH ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

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Twelve years ago, my husband was transformed in three short months from a "B.A. generalist" into a teacher of EFL in order to serve in Iran as an American Peace Corps Volunteer. Among the technological miracles employed in the crash training program was the videotape camera. The fledgling teacher's classroom presentations were videotaped and then played back for him to watch, analyze, and discuss with his teacher trainer. This technique allowed the Volunteer to gain an awareness of her/his teaching methodology that takes a student teacher working without the aid of videotape much longer to achieve. When we both returned for a second tour as members of the Peace Corps field staff, this same videotape technique was used to build our sensitivity to the interplay between verbal and nonverbal performance in an interview situation.

Since that time, I have seen such imaginative use made of videotape primarily in the Speech and Communications Department, the Athletic Department, and, occasionally, in the Education Department of various institutions of higher learning. While these departments use videotape primarily for its playback and analysis capabilities, most other departments use videotape to extend the instructors' audiences by taping lectures and demonstration lessons for later viewing. In this more common use of videotape, the instructor is usually the producer, director, and leading actor in the film.

The videotaped lesson as a media technique for ESL teaching was introduced by Evelyn Hatch, James Heaton, and other members of the UCLA TESL Staff at the 1975 TESOL Convention. While role playing and feedback with student actors were among the suggested uses of videotape in ESL classes, the workshop stressed the production of videotaped demonstration lessons by intermediate and advanced-level foreign students under the direction of their teachers. These tapes were produced for viewing by other less-advanced students in the TESL program and were keyed to particular grammatical points or to uses of idioms in conversational context. My experience with videotaped lessons in the 1975 workshop motivated me to take the technique one step further by providing student-actors with immediate feedback on student-produced and student-acted material. With the cooperation of the Audio Visual Center at the University of San Francisco, under the direction of Mr. Richard Nicolopulos, my students used the USF videotape studio as a classroom once-a-week during 1975-1976. In the course of the academic year, we worked out many ways of using videotape sessions as "culminating experiences" based upon our weekly classroom work. The main purpose of this paper is to describe the procedures we used and the pedagogical principles upon which they are based.

Since the videotape session is an opportunity for the students to test their predictions about both the target culture and the target language, they should be responsible for as much of the production process for the videotape material as possible. Hence, they, not the teacher, write the scripts for dramatic presentations. The scripts should be the product of their decisions about appropriate grammar, vocabulary, and context based upon the knowledge they have acquired about the language and the culture inside and outside the classroom. More advanced classes can compose the scripts by working by themselves in small groups. The teacher can facilitate and direct this process to some extent by suggesting the grammar points and conversational skills that she/he would like the students to work into the scripts and by suggesting situations in which the grammatical structures being emphasized are likely to occur. For example, if the students are to practice using the present and past perfect tenses, the teacher might suggest a medical-history interview between a nurse and a new patient or a job interview in which the applicant's past work in the field is discussed (Griffin 1976).

The following dialogue, which is part of a job interview script written by the student actors, illustrates how the students used the interview situation as a way to practice using the perfect tenses (which had been reviewed in grammar class during the previous week). It was the first role playing situation of the semester which we videotaped. The actors are advanced level students, Badredine from Algeria and Luis from Mexico:

> Badredine: "Have you been working in this field before?"
> Luis: "Sure. I have a huge experience. I was in charge to introduce several products for Revlon Cosmetics in Texas, New Mexico, and Florida."
> Badredine: "Yeah. Good. How long have you been working there?"
> Luis: "I've been working for them for two years."
> Badredine: "Tell me, why do you want to leave your present job?"
> Luis: "Well, I told you. We have already to introduce our products, and as a sales manager I had to live in Texas, which is our main market. I had lived in the East Coast, so I would like to return to the East Coast and live there."

Even lower level classes can compose their own scripts with a little more teacher guidance. At the English Language Center one Writing Class teacher has used a modified Language Experience Approach in helping the students write out their scripts for videotaping sessions to be recorded during their laboratory class period. In this approach, either the teacher or one of the better students can record students' suggestions for lines in their scripts. As with more advanced classes, scripts are developed more easily by working with several small groups (each with a discussion leader and a recorder) rather than with an entire class. The amount of teacher input in structuring the dramatic situations should depend on the amount of student exposure to the target culture.

In an hour class period, no more than fifteen minutes of videotaped material should be recorded. The rest of the class time will be necessary for set-up time, playback, and feedback from the audience. Fifteen minutes of tape is usually enough to record three short role-playing situations or three interviews. Longer activities such as group discussion and debates will require some restructuring of a class hour and readjusting of the playback and feedback procedure. Either the feedback can be limited to a few focused comments or the playback and feedback can be saved for the next class hour. The reason for limiting participants is to allow adequate time for detailed feedback on each actor's performance during the playback time.

The kinds of conversational situations that might be taped are limited only by the imaginations of the teacher and the students. Some possibilities are short dialogues centered on social relations; conversational phrases such as those suggested by Judith Kettering in her book Developing Communicative Competence (Kettering 1975); skits illustrating the handling of difficult life-situations in the target culture (e.g. reporting a robbery or returning faulty merchandise to a department store) (Paulston 1975); interviews for jobs or admission to a university; original T.V. commercials allowing for practice in pursuasive rhetoric; formal debates; and problem -solving discussions--both prepared and impromptu.

The students in the audience perform an essential function during the taping session, for they are the critics--the evaluation committee for each performance. During playback time they are called upon to offer constructive criticism and to make corrections, as well as to offer suggestions and to reinforce good performances. Early in the semester, the evaluation can be limited to comments made during the playback of the tape. These are some comments recently made by my students.

> "He must speak louder."
> "He made too many stops. He must speak faster."
> "Don't say: 'Do you know who is this?' Instead say: 'Do you know who this is?' "
> "He is supposed to be the police officer, but he didn't ask enough questions."
> "He pronounced some words wrong: unfortunately and definitely."
> "She is a little shy." (Implying that she didn't speak very much.)
> "He was well prepared. It was very clear."
> "We never say tramp to an American girl. That will make her mother very mad."
> "His English is very good."

After students become accustomed to peer criticism, the teacher might formalize the feedback to the actors by having the audience fill out evaluation forms, rating the actors in terms of their oral production of the language (grammar, discrete pronunciation, intonation, stress and rhythm), their command of the affect of the language (gestures, facial expressions, and body movement), and the quality of the dramatic situation that was presented (realistic or natural vs. artificial). While students in the upper level class seem to value this formalized feedback and study their rating sheets carefully, those in the more elementary classes sometimes feel that their classmates are not qualified to evaluate their performances.

Another way for the students to measure their own performances as well as those of their peers is to show them a parallel dramatic situation taped by native speakers. This allows them to check their predictions about the context of the situation--as well as the language used--against the performance of the native speakers.

The teacher controls the kind of feedback the actors are given primarily by choosing where to stop the tape when it is played back. Decisions can be made about which items to focus on both before the videotape session (e.g.

mastery of certain grammatical structures that are being stressed in class) and during it (e.g. pronunciation problems that have been noted or gestures that have been misused). It is also essential that the teacher create and maintain a constructive and friendly context for comments made during the playback time. It is wise to first ask the actor himself how she/he might alter the performance (e.g. "How would you say that line if you could retape that part?"). Next, the teacher might ask the class for comments while maintaining a rather neutral stance. Finally, the teacher might focus the attention of the class and the actor further by indicating the kind of problem that she/he sees (e.g. "Is the pronunciation of that word correct?"). Of course, the teacher will have to make some corrections and suggestions as part of the feedback, but they should always be made constructively and with attention to the sensitivity of the individual actor.

This conversation between the teacher and her students during the playback and analysis portion of a recent taping session illustrates how constructive criticism can give support and confidence to students who are insecure about using their second language:

Teacher: "Long, did you notice anything that you would change about your performance in that discussion?"
Long: "Yes, I spoke too softly again."
Teacher: "Do you know why you always speak English softly, Long?"
Long: "No."
Teacher: "Do you speak softly in Vietnamese?"
Long: "No. I think because I know my language and my English isn't good."
Teacher: "Do the rest of you agree with Long about his English? He says his English isn't any good."
Class: (Loudly) "No!"
S_1: "His grammar is good."
S_2: "He speaks better than me!"
Teacher: "Okay, Long, what do you think now? The other students think you speak English well."
Long: (Looking both pleased and slightly embarassed) "I think I have to speak more loudly."
Teacher: "What will you do next time you perform?"
Long: "Next time I will speak more loudly."
Teacher: "Great. Even though your voice was soft, Long, your performance was very good."
Long: "Thank you."

While the use of videotape as a regular part of the curriculum requires planning, organization, and creativity, as well as close cooperation between teachers and students and among the students themselves, the benefits to the students in mastering the target language are well worth the effort. While the students are focusing on gaining command of the various aspects of the language in oral production, they are at the same time gaining confidence in their ability to function effectively in the language. They are making predictions about the language, testing them by acting them out, and then participating in the evaluation of their own predictions. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, they are forming among themselves the kind of strong community which Earl Stevick (1976) sees as the goal of every good class.

APPENDIX

This is a complete videoscript of a job interview in which two male Vietnamese students from the advanced level class, Mghiep and Long, are the actors. The script is particularly interesting because of the kinds of interview questions asked and the order in which various types of information (personal and professional) are elicited and discussed. This was the first time both actors had ever performed on videotape:

Nghiep: Good morning.
Long: Good morning. I'm sorry I came late.
Nghiep: Yeah. uh ... My name is Chou.
Long: Oh. My name is Tom. It's nice to meet you.
Nghiep: Yeah. Please have a seat ... uh, I've received your letter last month requesting clerical work in my company and I'm very glad to have you as our ... um ... employee in this company. For support ... uh, could I have your full name, please?
Long: Oh, is my full name is Tom Martin.
Nghiep: Oh. And how old...?
Long: Oh, I'm 23.
Nghiep: And what is your marital status?
Long: At present, I am still single.
Nghiep: Um ... about your work experience ... did you work before?
Long: Oh, yes. Before coming here, I worked (unintelligible) Company for six months.
Nghiep: And, um ... Do you have any health problem?
Long: No. I've no health problems.
Nghiep: Oh. Very good. Do you have asthma or any disability?
Long: No on all those things.
Nghiep: Good. And, uh ... if you will be accepted by our company, your job, uh, will consist of writing letters. You'll send letters to our customers, to our ... to other companies. Sometimes you will study some statistics ... uh ... you'll collect some information from other companies.
Long: Yes.
Nghiep: Uh ... can you type?
Long: Yes, at least I think I can type at least about 45 wpm.
Nghiep: 45 words?
Long: Yes. 45 at least. I think I will try to practice more.
Nghiep: Uh ... (Pause) Could I read your resumé please?
Long: Yes.
Nghiep: Oh. You are studying public engineering now?
Long: Yes, yes.
Nghiep: Could you, uh, do a full-time job?
Long: Yes. I think that I can.
Nghiep: If, uh, you do the full-time job here, you'll have 15 days for annual leave and, uh, oh, I forget to tell you that everyday you have to open my mail, you read my mail and, uh, give me the important letters.

Long: Yes.

Nghiep: You have, uh, one hour break for lunch.

Long: Yes... uh, what is it?

Nghiep: From 12 to 1 p.m.

Long: 12 to 1.

Nghiep: Yeah.

Long: Oh, if I work as a full-time job, what in the morning? From 8 to 4?

Nghiep: Yeah. From 8 to 4.

Long: From 8 to 4. Oh! Can you tell me some information about my salary?

Nghiep: For the beginning ... you have, uh ... 3 months of training.

Long: Yeah. Three months training?

Nghiep: Yeah and, uh ... for the training period, you have, uh, $170 (Long: $170?) a week.

Long: A week.

Nghiep: A week, yeah.

Long: Oh, wow! That sounds fine.

Nghiep: And, uh. You know all the employee here have a promotion each semester -- each six months.

Long: Yeah. Six months. mmmmm. Do you mean after being promoted I can work as a real bookkeeper?

Nghiep: Yeah. Ummm ... And, uh ... If you, uh ... if you got married, will you continue to, uh, work with our company?

Long: Yes, of course. I think it would be nice. If I can work here, that would be very fine. And I will do my work anytime.

Nghiep: Okay. Uh ... Could I have your phone number, please?

Long: Oh, is my ... here is my phone number. That is my phone, sir. I'm living at Hayes Street.

Nghiep: Yeah, uh. (interrupted)

Long: You can call me at night time.

Nghiep: Uh, you'll have my answer, uh, next Saturday.

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COORDINATED TEACHING FOR MULTI-CULTURAL STUDENTS: A CHRISTMAS WALKING TOUR

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A field trip for multi-cultural students can be an excellent culmination to a teaching unit. It gives students the possibility of relating what they have been learning in the classroom to a new facet of life in the United States. Yet, while out of the classroom, they will still be within the congenial and familiar atmosphere of classmates and teachers. It is a particularly good project for the combined efforts of two teachers, who can coordinate the work of several classes and bring together students of relatively similar abilities in a mutual activity.

At a recent ESL Workshop of the San Francisco Community College District, Gordon described a pre-Christmas field trip which we took with our two upper-level Community College Center ESL classes. We feel fortunate to have been able to coordinate our teaching in a number of classes in the last few years and to have organized several field trips. Such informal team teaching has proved very useful in giving students not only a more integrated curriculum, but also a certain espirit. It is our experience that a successful field trip depends upon a combination of (1) careful preparation, including a recognizable pedagogical structure, and (2) the greatest possible flexibility in the way in which the field lesson is carried out.

In planning one of our trips, we thought our students might enjoy participating not only in the formal holiday observations of Christmas (e.g., the singing of Christmas carols, a school or classroom Christmas tree, etc.), but also in the informal ones which most Americans take for granted--such as the ritual of Christmas shopping and walking around the downtown stores to look at the holiday decorations--so we decided upon a walking tour in downtown San Francisco. Since one group of students had recently worked on a lesson in Florence Baskoff's Guided Composition (Modern Language Institute, 1971) dealing with urban transportation, we decided to include a trip on BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) in which the students would apply their newly learned transportation vocabulary to learning the rather complicated automated procedures for traveling on BART. Some of our students had just completed similar lessons on "Social Aspects of Automation" from Orientation in American English, Text 6 (Institute of Modern Languages, 1972). Also, an annual Christmas lesson had involved the collecting of Christmas catalogues and the use of catalogue vocabulary in writing letters or compositions. Such lessons were the basis of the preparatory work for our Christmas field trip.

When the final plan for our trip emerged, it began with a one o'clock lunch at MacDonald's on Market Street (student decision), continuing with a ride on BART, followed by the walking tour itself. As the students arrived at either MacDonald's or later at the Powell Street BART station (some preferred to skip the lunch), they were given two sheets of paper. One was a dittoed map of the area (Appendix #1), including an itinerary of the program. This would permit students who arrived late to join the group and allow everyone flexibility in working in pairs or small groups. On the map were twenty-four circled numbers in different locations. On the other handout (Appendix #2), were twenty-four questions corresponding to the numbered circles on the maps. Some of the questions were simple: "Can you buy a book in this block? Where?" "What is the name of this famous hotel?" "Is Macy's open at night?" Others were purposely more difficult. No one, in fact, got the answer to the question, "What is the 'slogan' of Gump's?" because all the students were too shy to ask a salesperson the answer. Some of the questions required the use of verbal and comprehension skills while others involved reading skills, but all entailed finding out about downtown San Francisco.

In our opinion, such a questionnaire is the key to a successful field trip, even a simple walk in the park. The well-designed questionnaire enables the students to become intensely involved in learning about their surroundings rather than to simply stroll about unobservantly. At the same time, a high degree of informality in the way in which the questions are answered is most desirable. Many students paired off to work on the questions together, discussing the problems, studying the map, taking turns asking for information. Some approached the task directly with a sense of excitement and competitiveness, dashing down one street and up the next, busily writing their answers. For others, the trip was a leisurely stroll, admiring the store windows and talking to each other and their teachers about what they saw. We believe that his approach of giving students initiative and independence in fulfilling the assignment also avoids the obviously undesireable alternative of teachers herding a group of adult students through public areas in schoolchild fashion. It is essential, however, that there be a clearly defined conclusion to such an autonomous expedition in order to insure that students do not feel that they are simply being sent off into an open-ended free afternoon.

The last time-schedule item on the students' maps said, "(24) Surprise - 3:30" and the corresponding item on their questionnaire was "(24) Ask for Mr. Howell's and Mrs. Milton's party." When the students arrived at number twenty-four on their map, they found themselves at Blum's on Union Square where we had arranged for a large table and a cake in the back of the restaurant. Like all Christmas shoppers, everyone by then was ready to sit down, drink tea or coffee with their cake, and talk about what they had seen. We found that for a small expenditure, we had given one of the most successful surprise parties ever. Around the table, the students compared the answers on their questionnaires and asked about the ones they hadn't been able to answer. As they said, "Goodbye" and "Merry Christmas" on the sidewalk in front of Blum's, it was clear that our students, as they said, both had learned a lot and had a good time, two reasonable requirements for any successful field trip.

APPENDIX #1

Advanced ESL
Mr. Howell
Mrs. Milton

A CHRISTMAS WALKING TOUR
(LUNCH, B.A.R.T., CHRISTMAS SHOPPING-WALKING TOUR, SURPRISE)

Timetable

1. MacDonald's -- 1:00 p.m.
3. B.A.R.T. -- 1:30 p.m. (Powell Street Station)
24. Surprise -- 3:30 p.m.

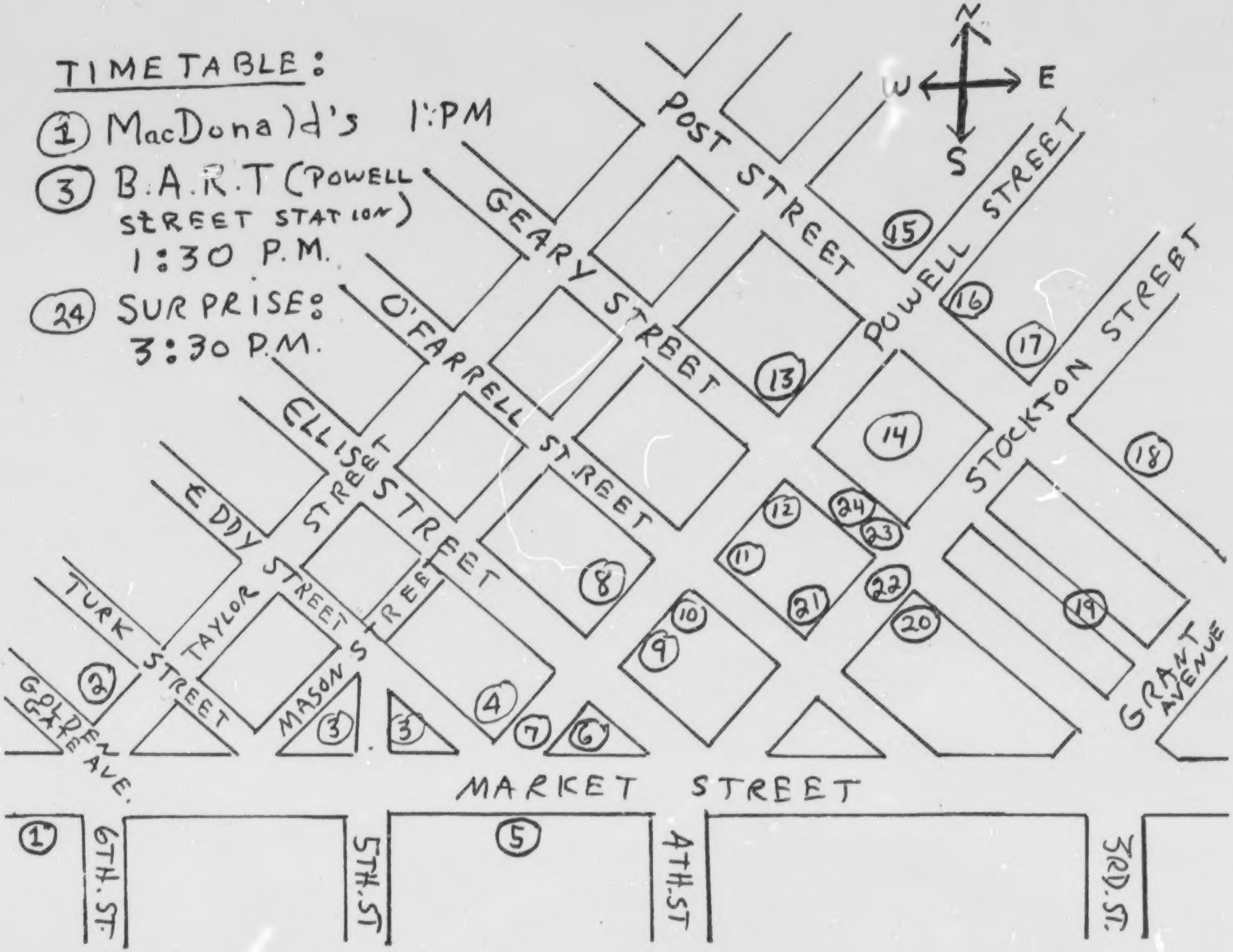
SEE MAP FOR NUMBERS OF LOCATION!

1. What was the total cost of your lunch?
2. What movie (s) are playing at the Golden Gate Theater?
3. How many approaches are there to the Powell Street B.A.R.T. station?
4. What is the name of the bank?
5. What does "Big E" stand for?
6. Which 5 and 10¢ store is this?
7. How does the cable car turn around?
8. What is a "ship" doing on Powell Street?
9. Can you buy a book in this block? Where?

10, 12, 15. What three (3) airlines have offices on Powell Street?

11. What is the name of the vehicle in this clothing store's name?
13. What is the name of this famous hotel?
14. What does the statue in Union Square mean?
16. What can you buy on the street at this corner?
17. Where is the fountain?
18. What is Gump's "slogan"?
19. What is the name of this lane? What kind of decorations are there here?
20. How tall is the Christmas tree in the rotunda?
21. Is Macy's open tonight?
22. What is sold on the sidewalk stands on this corner?
23. Who is performing on the sidewalk?
24. Ask for Mr. Howell's and Mrs. Milton's party.

APPENDIX #2



TIMETABLE:

① MacDona)d's 1:PM

③ B.A.R.T (POWELL STREET STATION) 1:30 P.M.

㉔ SURPRISE: 3:30 P.M.

N
W
E
S
POST STREET
GEARY STREET
O'FARRELL STREET
ELLIS STREET
EDDY STREET
TURK STREET
GOLDEN GATE AVE.
TAYLOR STREET
MASON STREET
POWELL STREET
STOCKTON STREET
GRANT AVENUE
MARKET STREET
6TH. ST
5TH. ST
4TH. ST
3RD. ST.
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TECHNIQUES OF LANGUAGE CLASS OBSERVATION

by Gordon B. Becktold
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I. Introduction

While classroom observation is essential to teacher evaluation, its greatest practical value is probably in determining proper staff assignments, in developing better teaching techniques, and in getting teachers to work together toward the realization of common goals.

The purpose of observation should be understood by all concerned before it takes place. The observer should record her/his impressions in a methodical manner, and should refine and summarize them prior to discussion with the involved teacher.

Before starting an observation program, an observer should know why she/he is observing, and what she/he is looking for.

II. Why Are You Looking?

Classroom observation may take place for purposes of (1) teacher evaluation, (2) development and improvement of teaching techniques, and/or (3) articulation.

In the case of teacher evaluation the information gathered may be used in hiring, in the formal evaluation of probationary or tenured teachers as required by law, or district rules, or in making staff assignments within a department. Whatever the case, the information gathered in observation will be important. Both the teacher to be observed, and the observer, therefore, should clearly understand the purpose prior to observation. This generally should be accomplished in a pre-observation conference.

If a teacher is being considered for hiring, or is being formally evaluated for purposes of tenure recommendation, the question of competence will be fundamental. Although competence is usually attested to by one's formal preparation, experience, and/or recommendations, it is only by watching a teacher at work in the classroom that you can verify for yourself the depth of her/his preparation and the extent of her/his skill in teaching. Unfortunately, few of us get a chance to observe a teacher in action prior to hiring.

In the case of probationary and tenured teachers, fundamental competence usually has already been established. The purpose, then, of classroom observation is threefold: (1) to insure that the teacher is working with the program, and not against it, in other words, articulation; (2) to evaluate teaching skill in order to help the teacher develop the full potential of her/his preparation; and (3) to establish some relationship between what happens in the classroom and results in terms of student behavior, in other words, verifying that the teaching process results in students' learning.

This paper was presented at the CATESOL Conference in Sacramento, April, 1976.

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There are, however, special cases. With some teachers fundamental competence may be beside the point, given the reality of budget cuts and transfers that often result in the appearance of a new teacher on your staff whether she/he is fully qualified or not. Under these circumstances classroom observation becomes important in determining the relative competence of a teacher. Though a person may not be a fully qualified language teacher, he/she may nevertheless be capable of realizing the objectives of a particular assignment. Classroom observation then becomes crucial to finding the right place in your program where the teacher can do the best job, and where your efforts at training are likely to be most effective.

In any case, it is important to remember that classroom observation is only part of the complex problem of teacher evaluation. An impressive classroom performance may not necessarily result in impressive student achievement; nevertheless, it seems reasonable to expect some connection between the two, under normal circumstances. But no matter what, an evaluation that does not include an appraisal of fundamental competence and teaching skill, as revealed in the classroom, can not be considered as anything but superficial.

It goes without saying that a well-organized language program has objectives. But many of us have also discovered that writing objectives has not ended arguments. We may all agree on where we want to go, but that does not mean that we have agreed upon the best way to get there.

Put another way, different people have different ways of trying to achieve the same objectives, and some of those ways may be better than others. Obviously, experimentation should be encouraged, but if it gets out of hand it can cause more headaches than it is worth.

Through classroom observation both teachers and supervisors can keep abreast of what is going on and can make sure that the new techniques being tried are not just fads, but that they are related to the objectives of the program. Classroom observation for the purpose of developing and improving techniques means looking for and helping to perfect such techniques and activities that result in more efficient learning among students.

Probably the most important reason for classroom observation is articulation. In simple terms articulation means teachers working together to realize common goals. But in these days of performance objectives and sophisticated assessment perhaps a more extensive description is needed. Assuming that you are teaching to objectives--and who is not nowadays--someone must verify that the diverse means employed by various teachers are indeed productive.

Articulation in this broader sense means constant observation of the teaching process to verify that classroom activities are related to objectives, as well as assessment of the efficiency of such activities in terms of results, in addition to refinement and revision of techniques and objectives, if necessary.

Though some teachers may bridle at the thought of close supervision on the pretense that it inhibits their creativity, the benefits far outweigh the real or imagined disadvantages. Effective articulation maximizes the effect of an individual's contribution, gives teachers a feeling of unity, and gets them talking about programs rather than personalities. It gives students a feeling of continuity as they go from class to class, and it results in efficient use of resources and equipment. Effective articulation, in short, means efficiency in instruction, and a high probability of good results with students. Needless to say, developing good articulation depends upon continuous and effective classroom observation.

III. What Are You Looking For?

A discussion of what to look for while observing a language class must presuppose some teaching methodology. The techniques mentioned in this paper relate to what is commonly known as a linguistic, or audio-lingual, philosophy. Inherent in this theory of instruction is the belief that language is behavior, and that people study a language primarily to learn to understand it and to speak it.

Classroom observation is process oriented; that is, you try to look at the activities the teacher is using to produce the kind of behavior believed to be essential to their learning. The problem, then, is: (1) to identify structured learning activities; (2) to evaluate the execution of such activities; and (3) to evaluate the response of students.

First, let us talk about structure. A class itself is a structured activity; that is, it is a series of separate but related activities designed to advance students another step along the road of language learning.

Notice the reference to movement. A language class must move. It is not a place in which to talk about language, but a place to do language. It is a dynamic place. In a well-structured language class someone will be talking constantly, and talking in order to get somewhere. Meaningful movement depends upon structure. When observing a language class, one of the first things to look for is an operating structure that makes the class move.

In a well-structured language class there should be apparent a series of basic, routine activities and standard techniques which facilitate learning by enabling the teacher to move the class in a relatively effortless manner through familiar, as well as new, learning activities. Without such an operating structure, it is unlikely that you will hear a lot of fluent, meaningful talk.

A good way to start developing an operating structure in a language class is to begin teaching students some routine, functional language at the very beginning of the course. Such basic activities as salutations, pertinent small talk, taking of roll orally, and giving instructions and directions, are very effective if exploited properly, Since these activities are functional and immediate, they become highly meaningful. Making them routine means that they develop into habitual language behavior so that students are likely to feel comfortable while performing their roles.

When the students have learned a repertory of functional language, the teacher has an opportunity to start expanding their vocabulary and grammatical knowledge in a relevant context. For example, something as simple as roll taking can be expanded into a discussion of not only who is absent, but the reason for the absence, which could lead into talk about illness, business or social activities--all of which would elicit new vocabulary and structure within immediate and meaningful circumstances.

Routine language activities are easy to identify. When they exist, you are likely to see a class session start decisively, and teacher and students engaged in meaningful, sustained talk. When students begin to tire during the class session, a teacher can enliven the pace by changing to a familiar activity the students can perform with relative ease.

Not all language behavior can be as immediate and meaningful as the routine activities mentioned above. Drill practice to perfect or reinforce recently introduced patterns and grammatical concepts, or the presentation of a new concept, require, nonetheless, a routine in order to facilitate student learning.

If, in dialog practice, pattern drills, listening comprehension practice, or any language learning activity initiated by the teacher, students appear mystified as to what they are supposed to do, it is very likely that the teacher has not established a routine method of performance. A standard, routine way of performing language learning activities gives a class structure and enables the teacher to keep it moving. Lack of structured routine in performing drills and other learning activities will be obvious even to a casual observer: responses will be ragged and uneven, and eventually the class will just stop!

Determining the extent of a teacher's repertory of structured activities is important, but an observer of a language class should also focus on the skill the teacher displays in the execution of those activities. Some things to look for include:

(1) Teacher Explanations. Are teacher explanations succinct and clear so that students understand what they are to do, and why? For example, in presenting grammar, does the teacher use minimal contrasts so that students can hear, and see, for themselves what is happening grammatically in a structure? Giving students something to focus on and teaching them to generalize grammar rules is likely to be more effective than giving them the rules and talking about grammar in the abstract. If students understand the concept in terms of language behavior, it is more likely that they will understand the formal grammatical explanation.

(2) Modeling. Does the teacher model clearly and often enough so that students have time to formulate the structure before attempting a response? Does the teacher make sure that everyone uderstands a model structure and can produce it fluently before starting a drill?

(3) Confirmation. Does the teacher follow student responses in drills and dialog practice with the correct response? This technique not only confirms student responses, but reinforces them when students echo the confirmation. This is especially effective when student responses are weak or uneven.

(4) Correction Technique. When a student responds incorrectly, does the teacher give the correct response and have the student repeat it two or three times? Does the teacher then have the class echo it in chorus? If one student is making a wrong response, it is safe to assume that others are having trouble too. After the choral response it is also good practice to challenge the original student again to verify that she/he has learned the correct pattern. This is a good way to insure that the whole class remains attentive while the teacher is working with an individual. The student, knowing that she/he is likely to be challenged again, is also likely to make an effort to learn the correct response. A teacher's correction technique should be such a habitual and natural part of activities than no student should feel inhibited as a result of being corrected.

(5) Meaning Check. In dialog practice and in drill does the teacher check to make sure that students understand what they are saying or hearing? This is a very good technique in pattern drills since it reveals whether a student is following the grammatical changes taking place. If the challenged student does not know what the structure means, does the teacher revert to a correction technique, such as mentioned above?

(6) Pronunciation. Does the teacher develop correct pronunciation in context rather than in isolation? If analysis is required, does the teacher give students minimal contrasts so that they may hear differences? Does the teacher attempt to diagnose pronunciation problems and help students physically to produce the correct sound? For example, Spanish speakers are likely to say "bery" for "very", in which case the teacher could actually show the articulation position of the correct labio-dental sound in contrast to the bilabial.

(7) Listening and Evaluating. Does the teacher evaluate student responses, noting pronunciation and other problems? Some teachers seem compelled to repeat with the class, especially if responses are weak. When students speak, the teacher should be listening.

(8) Pace. Does the teacher maintain a brisk pace by varying and alternating language activities, and by insisting on natural responses? Sustained talk in a language class is physically demanding, and if students are allowed to respond in an artificial, half-hearted manner, or if they are expected to perform the same kinds of activity beyond reasonable time limits, the pace will become monotonous and slow. What is a reasonable time limit? Just watch the students, they will let you know!

(9) Oral Techniques. Does the teacher keep the class performing, moving from choral work to small groups, to individuals, without losing momentum? While an individual is responding or performing, is the rest of the class listening or sleeping? Can the teacher bring the class back into action quickly after individual performance?

(10) Balance. Does the teacher dominate the entire session, or does she/he know how to pull away and let the students perform? It is only natural that at the beginning of a course the teacher should dominate, but as the course progresses student language production should increase accordingly, though the teacher may still be required to initiate activities. For example, at the beginning of a course students cannot be expected to preform dialogs. However, somewhere toward the middle of the course student performance of dialogs should be a routine activity. While students are performing, the teacher should be sitting in the corner listening--and resting his vocal chords.

(11) Use of Equipment. A well-equipped language classroom ought to have one or more tape recorders. It is a means to provide students with intensive practice at a relatively low cost in teacher energy. However, if a tape recorder is not used effectively, it may as well not be there. Effective use of the tape recorder depends upon (1) skillful programing of the material on the tape; (2) students well trained to work with the machine; and (3) purposeful use of the machine by the teacher. In addition, the taped material must be familiar so that students will know exactly what to do. If the teacher is skilled in the use of the tape recorder, it is very likely that you will hear sustained language among the student when the machine is used.

Without doubt the most important phenomenon to observe in a language class is student response. No matter how well structured the activities, or how impreseive the teacher presentations, it is the nature of student response that indicates whether learning is really taking place.

That students should talk a lot in a language class is obvious. Their talk takes two forms, choral and individual production. The observer must learn to listen to both kinds.

In choral work you expect to hear students working with the teacher in a smooth, rhythmic fashion. The class response should be brisk, fluent and natural. In choral work, however, student responses blend, cancelling out differences. A smooth choral performance, therefore, is more an indication that the class, as a whole, has learned to go through the motions, than it is a measure of individual accomplishment. How well students are learning must be determined by listening to individual responses.

In observing individual responses, you should listen for fluency, pronunciation, and communication. Can a student produce an utterance of normal length without stumbling or pausing unduly? If fluency is poor, is it because the student does not know the pattern or because she/he has not learned to formulate before articulating? Or maybe the teacher simply does not demand a fluent, natural response. How good is pronunciation? Are the errors minor phonetic ones, or fundamental phonemic ones? Is the student communicating? That is , is the response structurally correct, and given with the proper intonation so that it fits the meaning demanded by context? Sometimes a student may respond with the right words, but because she/he may not be sure of herself/himself, or because she/he knows it is an artificial classroom context, she/he may end her/his utterance with the rising pitch of a question, giving her/his response the meaning "Is this the right answer, teacher?" Another characteristic to look for under "communication" is manipulation. The extent to which a student can manipulate the structure of the language, in a meaningful way, is a very positive sign that learning is taking place.

Obviously an observer should learn to listen very critically to individual responses. However, a word of caution must be given here. An observer should keep in mind that the degree of skill students display in their responses should be relative to their familiarity with the particular language activity. The more familiar the activity, the more skill you should expect to see. Conversely, it is to be expected that students will flounder when working with new material.

IV. What to do with the data

A good observer will resort to some sort of a written form, which can be used during observation, or filled out afterward from memory and brief notes, to help record her/his impressions. After completing the form the observer ought to refine and summarize her/his impressions so that they can be used as the basis of discussion with the teacher. The following comments, which were prepared after observation of an ESL class, are offered in illustration. The form used as a guide in observation is attached. The comments are grouped according to the major parts of the form.

A. General Impressions: Control, Preparation, Pace, Use of Language in Classroom

1. Teacher started promptly, exercised leadership throughout the period, keeping things moving, issuing instructions, and keeping students engaged

in meaningful activities.

2. Student knowledge of drill techniques facilitated control. For most part teacher kept drill requirements within students' capacity to respond.
3. Teacher is developing an opening routine, "What did you do today?" Responses were uneven. Starting the class with a choral routine, e.g., Greetings, etc., might have been more effective in warming up the entire class, then moving to individual activity such as "What did you do today?" Work from choral to individual production; confirm weak individual responses and follow with entire class echoing.
4. Pace. Teacher kept the class moving with a wide range of innovative activities. For example, giving students a series of instructions requiring action responses, "Raise you right hand," etc. This was good practical language behavior, and an excellent comprehension check. The ten questions game, "I'm thinking of something," centering on things visible in the classroom also was excellent.

B. Techniques/Activities

1. Pattern Drills
   - a. In the question response drill, "How long have you been in California?", student responses were poor. Instead of proceeding, teacher should have modeled the initial sentence, then practiced until students could make proper responses. When a response is halting, do not try to pull the answer from student. Give it to her/him, have her/him repeat it, then do the same with the class for a few frames, then go back to the first student.
   - b. The structure drill seemed incomplete. What was the point of the drill, to teach a grammar concept, to perfect usage and comprehension? Model, get repetition, then go to stimulus response. Check meaning. Let students discover the grammar point by analysis of minimal contrasts.
2. Correction Technique
   - a. Do not drag answers out of students. If student is saying something wrong, give the correct model, get repetition, and practice it. Explain if necessary, e.g., in case of a phonemic problem like /it/ vs /ɨt/. Avoid Socratic syndrome, i.e., endless questions between student and teacher about the language.
   - b. Check meaning frequently. If student does not know the meaning of an utterance, give it to her/him, go back to choral practice, and spot check meaning around the class, getting back to the first student to confirm that she/he remembers.
   - c. Listen for frequent and common, or predictable, errors. Diagnose and practice.
   - d. Do not repeat with students. While students are responding, teacher should be listening and evaluating.
   - e. Teacher ignored student errors in opening routine. This is a good time to refine pronunciation and to correct usage--students have achieved a high degree of fluency, the material is immediate and functional, and corrections can usually be made without impeding or inhibiting fluency.

Observation of Classes

Teacher____________________ Date______________

Class______________________ Observer__________

I. General Impressions					Notes
A. Teacher	P	F	G	E	
1. Control					
2. Preparation					
3. Pace					
4. Use of Lang. in class					

B. Students	P	F	G	E
1. Response				
2. Participation				
3. Oral facility				
4. Gen. achievmt.				

II. Techniques Activity	Execution				Performance Level of Students			
	P	F	G	E	P	F	G	E
1.______								
2.______								
3.______								
4.______								

III. Teacher Correction of Errors	P	F	G	E
1. Pronunciation				
2. Intonation				
3. Grammar				
4. Meaning				

IV. Summary

California Association - Teachers of
English to Speakers of Other Languages

CATESOL Occasional Papers
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POLICY ON SERVICES TO LIMITED-ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS

State of California Board of Education

The State Board of Education and the State Department of Education recognize:

- That in the State of California there are approximately two hundred and twenty-five thousand children of school age who are limited-English-speaking;
- That every individual in California is entitled to equal access to educational opportunity;
- That the United State Supreme Court recently ruled in the case of Lau vs. Nichols that to provide limited-English-speaking students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum as are provided all others, does not constitute equality of treatment;
- That there are available a variety of resources to meet the educational needs of limited-English-speaking students, both State and local; and,
- That there is a need for coordination of programs and clarification of policies relating to educational services for limited-English-speaking students.

Therefore, the State Board of Education and the State Department of Education, with this policy statement, provide direction for the State of California in the development of an appropriate delivery system to best meet the needs of the limited-English-speaking student. This policy will affect the approximately two hundred and twenty-five thousand limited-English-speaking students and the other students who may benefit from specialized educational attention.

The State Board of Education and the State Department of Education declare that:

I. All students in California should have an educational program which recognizes their individual talents, needs, and aspirations and all appropriate school funding sources should be utilized for this purpose.

This official Policy Statement, adopted by the California State Board of Education in December, 1975, was made available through the courtesy of the Office of Bilingual Bicultural Education, California State Department of Education, 721 Capitol Mall, Sacramento, California.

II Limited-English-speaking students have particular educational needs which must be recognized.

III. To comply with the Lau vs. Nichols Supreme Court Decision, schools should make provisions for instruction in a language understandable to each limited-English-speaking student until such student can adequately understand instruction in English. Therefore, each limited-English-speaking student in the public schools should have, in addition to or in combination with other educational opportunities, educational services which:

A. are taught in a language understandable to the student;

B. build upon the student's primary language; and,

C. teach the student English.

IV. There are many ways to meet the needs of limited-English-speaking students and that, regardless of the approach, proficiency in English language skills is a major objective.

In schools where there are 10 or more limited-English-speaking students in a grade level or in one age group in a multigraded school and additional resources are available, classroom instruction for meeting the needs of limited-English-speaking students should meet the criteria of a program option discussed in A through D.

The following represents a range of program options using bilingual instruction regardless of funding sources. The program options would satisfy the educational program described under III above.

A. Transitional Bilingual Instruction - The student's primary language is used as a "bridge" to learn English.

The school makes provision for instruction in a language understandable to each limited-English-speaking student until such student can adequately understand instruction in English. Such instruction includes listening and speaking skills developed in both languages. Reading and math readiness and introductory skills are developed in the language the student understands best.

B. Partial Bilingual Instruction - Listening, speaking, reading and writing skills are developed in both languages. Instruction related to culture and history are taught in the language the student understands best.

C. Full Bilingual Instruction - Basic language skills are developed and maintained in both languages. Instruction in required subject matter or classes is provided in both languages in addition to culture and history.

D. Bilingual Bicultural Education - This is a system of instruction which uses two languages, one of which is English, as a means of instruction. It is a means of instruction which builds upon and expands the existing language skills of each participating student, which will enable the student to achieve competency in his or her primary language and in English.

This instruction should include:

1. Daily instruction in English, language arts, listening, speaking reading and writing;
2. Language development in the student's primary language;
3. Reading in the student's primary language where appropriate;
4. Selected subjects taught in the student's primary language as is appropriate; and,
5. Development of an understanding of customs and values of the cultures associated with the languages being taught as well as an understanding of the history and culture of California and the United States.

Programs developed under Statutes of 1972, Chapter 1258 (AB 2284) and ESEA Title VII must meet as requirements the option presented under (C) Full Bilingual Instruction or (D) Bilingual Bicultural Education.

For the purpose of clear interpretation of the Policy Statement, listed below are definitions of terms used:

1. "Limited-English-speaking students" are defined as students who have not developed English language skills of comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, sufficiently to benefit from instruction only in English and who come from a home where a language other than English is spoken. An annual census shall be taken to determine the number of limited-English-speaking students in each school.
2. "Primary Language" is a language other than English which is the language the student first learned or the language which is spoken in the student's home environment.

California Association - Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Lanugages

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INDIVIDUALIZING INSTRUCTION IN THE ESL CLASSROOM THROUGH GROUPING

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Among the problems common to all levels of instruction in the ESL classroom are the diverse backgrounds of the ESL student, the wide range in student ability, and, in many school situations, the influx of new students throughout the school term. At Thomas Starr King Junior High School in Los Angeles, California, the aforementioned problems are very much in evidence and extremes in each instance in a beginning ESL class resulted in the development of a grouping structure for individualization.

The structure was designed when the number of students increased from twenty-four at the beginning of the first semester to thirty-two by mid-term. One instructor and two aides found it difficult to give the needed attention to the newcomers--making them feel part of the class and drawing them up to the level of the rest of the students--while continuing to build on the lessons already learned by the students who had been enrolled since September. It was also evident that many of the students in the original class group were falling behind, while others were ready for a more advanced level of work. The most practical move seemed to be toward grouping, but on two levels: (1) the individual ability of the students and (2) the reorganization of the classroom activities into grouped structures or stations.

The first element of grouping (i.e. by ability), allowed the instructor to deal with smaller numbers of students who were within a closer range of ability. The competitive threat of more advanced students was eliminated and a closer relationship was developed within their peer ability group. It also heightened the individualization process by giving the instructor more time per student in the smaller groups.

To deal with the second element--the reorganization of the classroom into stations--the school was fortunately able to hire paraprofessional ESL aides in addition to the student tutors available. Their activities were to include clerical assistance as well as direct contact with students. We were able to rearrange class time to use their talents in the grouping stations. If a school does not have funds to hire ESL education aides, student tutors or community volunteers can be very effective.

Procedures

In order to determine the ability level of the students, a simple oral pre-test was given followed by a written test on the same material. The first experimental grouping (at mid-term of the first semester) was based on material covered up to that time. For succeeding classes it was based upon "Survival" materials administered when students first arrived in the class. "Survival" materials consist of lists of questions and answers such as "What's your

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name?" "...telephone number?" "How much is this notebook?" "Where's the restroom?"

The class was divided into four separate groups based upon the results of the tests. When students came into the class at a later date, they were tested and placed in the appropriate group. Table 1 indicates that regrouping often took place at the time the new students were being placed.

TABLE 1

Composition of Groups

Month		Groups			
		1	2	3	4
February	- 16 students (All work begins at the same level.)	4	4	4	4
March	- +4 = 20 students (Students were sent back from a more advanced class.)	6	6	4	4
April	- +7 = 27/-1 = 26 students (Students from March Group were able to move up to Group 1 and students from Group 3 moved up to Group 2. March Group 4 became April Group 3 and the new arrivals after testing were divided between Groups 3 and 4.)	8	7	6	5
May	- +2 = 28 students	8	7	6	7
June	- +4 = 32 students (Two students from May Group 4 moved up to June Group 3, making room for the new arrivals in Group 4.)	8	7	8	9

The groups, therefore, are not only flexible (students may advance or be moved to a less difficult level) but also expandable (they can enlarge to contain eight to ten students, if necessary).

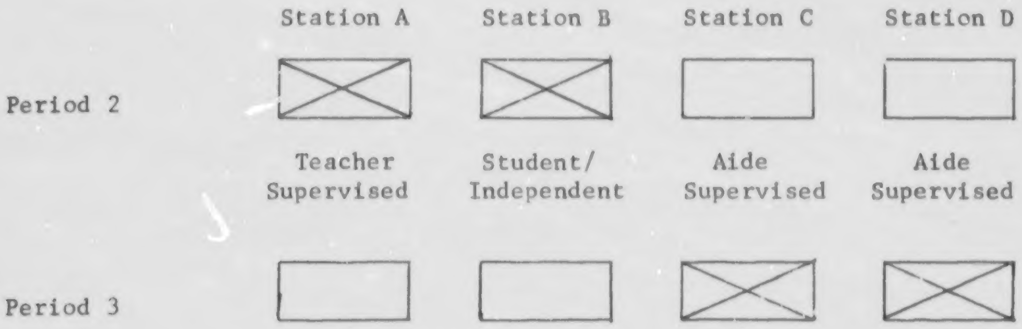
Group Structure

At King Junior High School the beginning ESL class meets with the same instructor for three 45-50 minute classes per day. The first two class periods are generally devoted to extensive English grammar study with supplementary activities to increase listening, speaking, reading and writing skills. The afternoon hour is usually set aside for work in units of various subject matter areas--geography, science, math. The most practical arrangement for the grouping was in the morning and the students (in their groups) went through two stations each period covering all four of them by the end of their second period as depicted in Table 2.

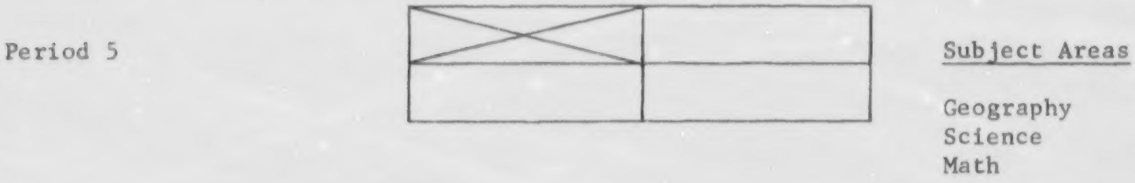
TABLE 2

Group Structure / Stations

This table depicts the progression of one of the four groups through the entire structure.


Station A
Station B
Station C
Station D
Period 2
Teacher Supervised
Student/ Independent
Aide Supervised
Aide Supervised
Period 3

Station A - Grammar/Structure
Station B - Independent Written Work
Station C - Phonetics/Listening Center
Station D - Conversation/Games


Period 5
Subject Areas
Geography
Science
Math

At the end of 20 - 25 minutes, the teacher signals the class to change (using a whistle or a bell perhaps) and they move to their next stations. Although this is the time allotment used at King Junior High School, the group structure can be adapted to any time period and for only one class, as Table 3 illustrates.

In the structure planned for a two-period block of time, three of the stations are supervised by the instructor and two aides. Station B is an independent written work area for students which is based on the grammar assignment covered in the lesson presented at Station A by the instructor. Material comes from the text and supplementary grammar exercise sheets. Work assignments change according to the composition of the group.

When grouping for a single period, it is possible to have three sessions during the class hour as depicted in Table 3. The introduction suggested in the time breakdown is needed only for the initial stages of training the class in procedure. One can also utilize the structure in Table 2 during a single hour by arranging for the groups to alternate days (i.e. Group 1 has Stations A & B - Day 1; Stations C & D - Day 2).

TABLE 3

Group Structure / Stations / One Period

Stations:

A - Structure
B - Written Work
C - Oral Production

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Session I	B	C	A
Session II	C	A	B
Session III	A	B	C

Time Sequence: 45 minute period
Introduction - 5; Each Session - 12; Change - 1; Conclusion - 2

The physical changes necessary in the grouped classroom are minimal. It takes under a minute for a preceding class to turn the desks and a very short time for some class members to set up the AV equipment in preparation for group activity in the ESL class. Notice in the figure below the minimal arranging needed to transform a typical classroom into a four group structure.

FIGURE 1

Typical Classroom

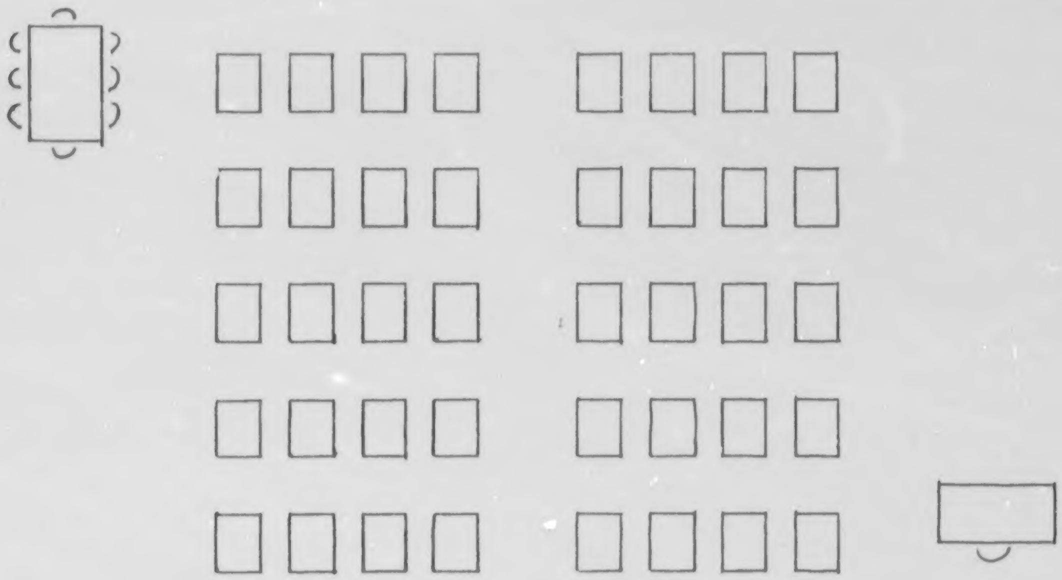
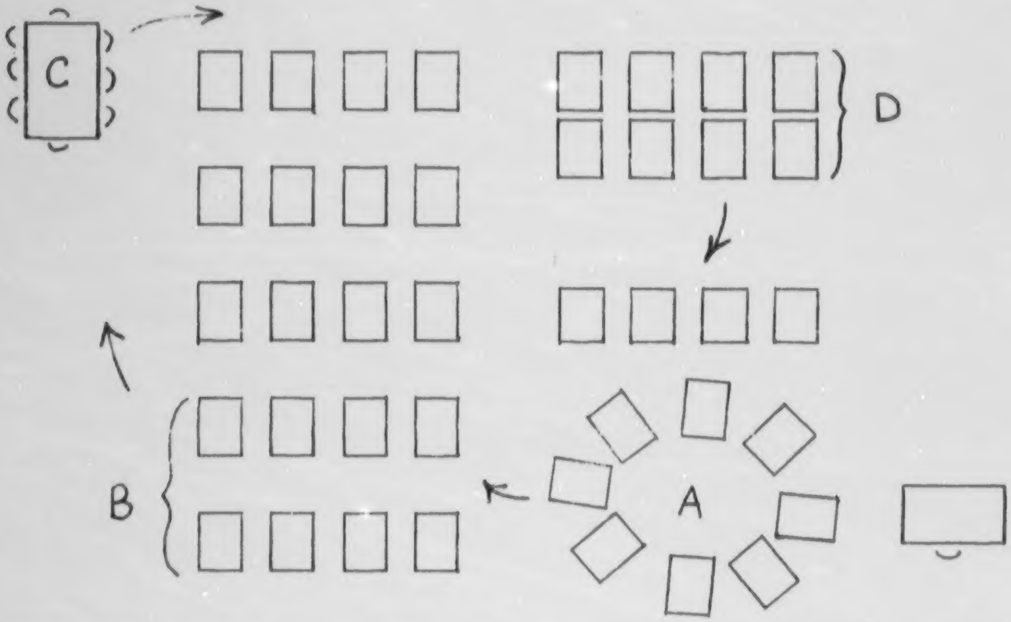


FIGURE 2

Grouped Classroom



Materials and Supplies

Station A - Grammar/Structure. The same basic text is used for all groups. Any text may be selected and used within the delineated structure. Learning to Use English, Book I, by Finocchiaro was the text used by the instructor in this class but any other text--English for Today, English This Way, New Horizons in English, etc.--could be used with equal effectiveness. At the beginning of the semester, all the students are at the same point--Unit I. New students who arrive throughout the term are tested, placed in the appropriate group, and, if necessary, started at the beginning of the text while the others continue to proceed through the materials at the pace best suited to their group. Supplementary grammar sheets can be used to reinforce the students' understanding of the structure.

Station B - Individual Written Work. The students begin their assignment based upon the grammar structure they have just covered with the teacher. Assignments for each group are written on the chalkboard for reference.

It is apparent that one group, Group I, will have to start their written work without the benefit of the teacher's detailed explanation in Station A. At first the instructor must take a few moments to explain some points to the group, but this is, of course, the most advanced group and very soon the students can maneuver on their own.

Station C - Phonetics/Listening Center. This station is designed to increase the students' oral skill in producing English phonemes as well as improving their listening comprehension. Lessons, incorporated with the grammar/vocabulary being studied in the other stations, range from work on sounds with tape recordings of vowels, consonants, digraphs, intonation patterns and listening comprehension exercises to film strips on spelling and readers designed to improve understanding of sound relationships.

A listening center is relatively easy to arrange. All that is necessary is a cassette or reel tape recorder and a jack to attach an "acoustiphone" with nine headsets.

Station D - Conversation/Games. This station is a way of reinforcing the material learned in Station A as well as of giving the students additional vocabulary and of encouraging them to generate their own conversations. Vocabulary Sets include such topics as food, clothing, transportation and money which lead to such activities as "Store" or catalogue shopping. Games include Jr. Scrabble, Word Match, Bingo, Phonetic Quizmo, Park & Shop, and many others.

Another dimension can be added to the activities in Station D - counseling and guidance. The need for developing self-awareness and providing additional guidance, particularly in a peer group situation, can be met by utilizing the fourth station as a reinforcement for the grammar/structure taught in the first station but employing activities of a counseling nature, i.e., "Exercise in self-esteem" and a "Values ranking sheet."

Coordination

After the organizational structure was prepared, the materials for each station had to be coordinated. It was discovered that many of the materials needed were already in the classroom and that there simply had not been enough time during a school term to cover them.

Stations A & B - Grammar/Structure. The grammar/structure element required little adjustment. After a lesson plan had been made for students in Group 1, it was available for Groups 2, 3 and 4 when they arrived at the same stage as indicated in Table 4. If there were any difficulties within the group on a particular lesson, supplementary grammar exercises from other texts and workbooks were kept ready in the file.

TABLE 4

Sample Schedule for Lessons

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Week 9	Unit 9	Unit 7	Unit 5	Unit 3
Week 10	Unit 10	Unit 8	Unit 6	Unit 4
Week 11	Unit 11	Unit 9	Unit 6 Supplementary Exercises	Unit 5
Week 12	Unit 12	Unit 10	Unit 7	Unit 6

NOTE: Extra preparation is not necessary for grouping as shown on the table above. A lesson is prepared only once.

This means, of course, that at the end of the semester Groups 3 and 4 will not be ready to go on to the Intermediate level. At King, some of Group 4 students may repeat Beginning. Most of Group 4 and Group 3 will go to Advanced Beginning. Group 2 will go to Sub-Intermediate and Group 1 to Intermediate. Therefore, the grouping creates no difficulty with promotion of students. In fact it can clarify their placement whatever the policy of a school.

Station C - The Phonetics/Listening Center. This station required considerable thought and preparation. Although not many tapes existed, there were many places to turn for materials upon which to base the tapes. It took only a short time to make the tapes needed (10-15 minutes maximum for each and no more than two or three tapes per week). Spelling books, readers, and filmstrips are usually available from the textbook room or through the Language Arts Department of your school. Most of the groups were able to follow through with the same lesson, making it easier for the aide, but, as with the grammar, it was also possible for the aide to repeat something for the newcomers that she had covered before.

Station D - Conversation/Games. Vocabulary Sets such as transportation, buildings, subject areas (homemaking, art), if not included in the text, often had to be left out of the curriculum. With the grouping structure there was plenty of time to incorporate them with the lesson and to give the students, under the supervision of an aide, an opportunity to use the new words themselves. Games were available too but usually only one or two of each kind (three-four players each) and, therefore, not easily adaptable to use by an entire class. With grouping and a maximum of eight to ten in each group, it became possible to use a variety of language games more frequently. Students at all levels benefit from the lessons and materials at this station.

Evaluation Procedures

The teacher is able to evaluate the students' progress in a grouped classroom quite effectively. All written work is turned in to the teacher in group folders each day. Not only is all testing administered by the teacher in the grammar/structure group sessions, but all students come into the teacher's group for a 20-25 minute period during the grouping hours. It is in this small group (eight to ten students) that individual progress can best be observed. Later in the day, the students are taught subject matter (i.e. science) as an entire class. The teacher can then readily observe the students' progress in a larger group situation. Daily conferences are held with aides and tutors to determine progress in the other stations.

Conclusion

Grouping is suitable for all levels--elementary, secondary and adult. It can be implemented at Beginning, Intermediate, or Advanced level of language learning. Within the suggested structure, all elements required by the course of study can be met while the needs of the individual student are considered. For instructors with the common problem of transient students coming and going in a classroom, grouping is a particularly effective technique for maintaining the normal progression of the class while also providing for the integration of a new student. The greater personalized attention not only increase the motivation of the students but also allows the instructor to deal with problems that must be overlooked in the 30- or 40-to-1 ratio of conventional classrooms. In addition to all these advantages, the amount of material covered in a term increases and the students are delighted that they are "learning more."

Some Additional Sources on Individualizing Instruction

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California Association - Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

CATESOL Occasional Papers
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"BACK FROM WONDERLAND"--Reply to the Queen of Hearts

(Background to a Videotape)

Alan Marcus
Carmel, California

"Let the Jury consider the verdict," the King said.
"No, no..." said the Queen. "Sentence first--verdict afterwards..."
"Stuff and nonsense," said Alice. "The idea of having the sentence first..."
"Hold your tongue," said the Queen, turning pale.
"I won't," said Alice.
"Off with her head..." cried the Queen.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: *TALK TO ME, (Or Suppose the Natives AREN'T Friendly?)*, a 56-minute videotape based on the Salinas Adult School's "English on Wheels" program, was introduced at the 1976 CATESOL State Conference in Sacramento in a three-hour workshop by Lotte Marcus, the program's co-ordinator. Originally foundation-funded, the program is now supported as an experimental program by ABE State funds, and was selected as one of the seventy-five most innovative programs nationwide by the American Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. The videotape documents a group of Mexican farmworkers on "linguistic safari"--that is, embarked on a voluntary expedition into the wilds of a spontaneous (catch-as-catch-can) language encounter, risking their classroom-rehearsed English in a common mercantile--and purposefully UNbriefed--setting, i.e., an American restaurant.

This familiar, often taken-for-granted, situation is used to raise questions with audiences concerning the subliminal stereotypes which still influence attempts at cross-cultral "communication" in bilingual communities; the taped sequences are chronological but the showing is intended to be discontinuous---teachers are advised to pause at the end of specific segments (there are seven in all, separately titled) and the audience is then invited to "talk back" to whatever viewed images may have seemed puzzling, disturbing, revelatory, etc. To date, the "talk backs" have evoked a surprising variety of responses. Topics have ranged from language-learning pedagogy, for instance (methods, materials, classroom protocol, the rationale for a favorite technique), to the phenomenology of speaking and listening itself (the quality of responses haphazardly encountered, the way a different kind of speaking is apt to evoke a different kind of listening, the styles of attention--or inattention--thus displayed) to the language contingencies of any specific English-speaking environment (psychosocial components, ambiguities unavoidable in all verbal bi-cultural exchanges, revealed insights--or ignorance--on the part of native teachers concerning the transplanted lives of their foreign-born students, a factor, obviously, which radically affects both the energy and the seriousness the latter bring to their often anxiety-tinged English classes.

Underlying all these questions is another, no less excruciating: how can

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Mr. Marcus, a Guggenheim Fellowship recipient, has divided his efforts for some years between popular media and the arts. Currently he is working on a new book and supervising AKTOS, a new enterprise devoted to exploring alternate, anti-passive uses of television.

anyone, teacher as well as student, native as well as newly arrived, become more attuned not only to the sense and sound of spoken words, but to their non-verbal ambience, something which may easily prove critical in determining the success--or failure--of whatever hesitant conversations may be inaugurated, away from the sanctuary of the classroom, out in the flux and tumult of the (linguistically) UNsolicituous "real" world!

The tape's sound track comes in either Spanish or English though its format can be juggled as individual needs require. Throughout, the intent has been to focus a wider perspective not only on teaching ESL, but on the whole etiology of 'organic' bi-cultural dissonance in general; so far, it has proved effective with public school teachers from intermediate grades on, as well as with mixed (English and Spanish speaking) parents' groups, civic, religious and fraternal institutions, public and private service agencies, and students at both high school and university levels. A book length syllabus has been printed to accompany the tape as a guide for teachers; the syllabus contains the entire ex-post-facto video script, as well as a brief history of the conditions under which it was produced, plus selected excerpts from dozens of "talk back" sessions and a running addenda of annotated footnotes touching the many side issues these county-wide teacher-led "talk backs" have provoked.

Both videotape and syllabus--together with other related materials--are available from AKTOS, Box 95, RFD 1, Carmel CA 93921.

In the fall of 1973, the Adult School of Salinas, California, aided by grants from a quartet of private foundations[1], initiated an experimental program intended to carry the teaching of ESL into the barrios and campos of the Salinas valley.

The idea was to try to teach a small bit of survival English to informal groups of the farm labor population (many of them hardcore cases--people who'd been unable or unwilling to learn English over a period of years) and to encourage them, eventually, to test out what they were learning, in spontaneous unpredictable language encounters with specific English-speaking enclaves of their own choosing--i.e., restaurants, shops, clinics, agencies, and the like. The purpose was to demystify and to educate, i.e., to demystify a few public places of their power to intimidate the Spanish-speaking residents, often rendering them speechless, helpless, and hopeless; and to try to educate--by whatever means--those on the other side of the language barrier, suggesting not only how a more responsive kind of listening[2], on their part, might encourage more of the Spanish-speaking to risk coming across the language void, but, also, at the same time, to dramatize how strange, unreal, and "Alice-in-Wonderland-ish" the world of the Spanish-speaking--when glimpsed from the inside--could really, at times, be.

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[1] Crown Zellerback Foundation; Pacific Change Foundation; Hancock Foundation; and the Claremore Foundation, to whom all, muchas gracias! And gracias, also, to Tony Royal, the Salinas Adult School, and the Salinas Union High School District, for having had the wit and good sense to sponsor it all!

[2] To any speaker--especially to a beginner in a language--the listening environment is crucial, since it is, by now, axiomatic that how we are listened to modifies--encourages or inhibits--our own speech. "A speaker has a listener for whom he molds his remarks...the fact that it is acceptably heard VALIDATES his speech..."
--Paul Goodman, Speaking and Language, Vintage Books, 1972, Chapter 5.

"Acceptable" is the key word, however. "Acceptable to whom? There is ready-made listening, just as there is ready-made speaking. For a newcomer to a language, unsure, tentative, minus an inborn sense of the common code which native speakers implicitly share, ready-made is not enough.

By "Alice-in-Wonderland-ish" I mean the acceptance among the larger community of a surreal state of affairs that had been going on so long we hardly any of us were able to recognize it anymore (plus the inevitable effect this must have--still has--on any student's capacity to learn or any teacher's ability to teach.) And this was true in spite of the fact that the pedagogical climate was--is--officially--even strenuously--"pluralistic." Teachers were continually being exhorted to review their materials, to scrutinize their methods, with an eye towards upgrading the quality of something called "bi-cultural communication." And the redemptive vision of Upward Mobility, that durable escape hatch towards a better life ("afuera de los campos, away from the fields!) was constantly preached. We assumed, you see, that such a vision, if extolled long enough and eloquently enough by us, would end up inspiring the Spanish-speaking to go out and grab their own particular portion of the American Dream; make it come true for them, in other words, as it already has (according to prevailing scriptures) for everybody else.

The reality, however, is slightly different.

Once you ventured beyond the sanctuary of your classroom (walled by mandatory job-recruitment posters telling of imminent opportunities for self-fulfillment through devotion to Electronics, Hotel Management, Nutritional Science, or the U.S. Marine Corps), you were liable to find yourself in a time warp; that is, you were apt to discover you were actually standing in the middle of a huge, sprawling (officially non-existent) agricultural plantation, the kind most of the textbooks had declared definitively extinct, decades ago.

Day after day you could see (if you really looked, that is) the plantation workers--your students--being bussed out to nearby fields, dragging their marsupial toilets behind them. And day after day your friends and professional co-workers could also see (if they really looked!) the same familiar ramshackle conveyances carrying hundreds and hundreds of brown-skinned residents out to do the kinds of work no one else wanted to do anymore--picking, thinning, hoeing, planting, spraying, packing, freshening, freezing: in short, spending the larger part of their days not only in (literally) backbreaking labor[3], but in an English-speaking environment which--when the language was used at all--was hardly calculated to inspore sympathy, trust, or even the beginnings of a self-initiated imitation. (i.e., "pick up the pipes, move the boxes, don't crush the fruit, don't sit down, quit smoking, haul ass, grab hold, get a move on, etc. etc. etc!... ")

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[3] The whole subject of farm labor, those who employ it, those who've tried to organize it, and those who perform it, is too huge to go into here. Much of contemporary chicano literature turns on this experience. (see, for instance "Que Hay Otra Voy" by Tina Villanueva in Literatura Chicana, Prentice Hall, 1972. Or "Y No Se Lo Trago La Tierra" (The Earth) by Octavio Romano, in El Espejo, Quinto Sol Publications, Berkeley, 1972.)

No less a figure than Cesar Chavez is on record, a witness from his own years as a fieldhand. "Everytime I see lettuce--the first thing I think of--some person had to thin it. Nailed to the cross. You have to walk twisted...always stooped over, facing the rows, walking perpendicular. Always trying to find the best position..if you turn the other way, you can't thin..." (Chavez, by Jaques Levy, W.W. Norton, 1975.)

Beyond the fields, however--again, once you really *looked*!--you were apt to find yourself floating further Through the Looking Glass.

For the plantation workers, though they were left, after work, to fend for themselves (they were "free," of course; had come up here "voluntarily," hadn't they?) somehow or other ended up living in informally segregated compounds, in overpriced, overcrowded and undermaintained housing. And somehow or other it happened that the majority of social problems in the area--broken homes, deserted wives, drunkeness, violence, and--most importantly--anomie, tended to be concentrated in these selfsame neighborhoods. It also happened that many children from those particular households, uncertain about who they were or what kind of futures they could expect, and bewildered about what they could do to escape the fate of their own parents--in sum: angry, scared and schizoidal--provided a constant source of headaches for the school district.[4] Result? They were analyzed, studied, profiled, evaluated, and reanalyzed. They were also scrutinized frequently by a continual stream of visiting hyphenates: bi-cultural "consultants," conflict-resolution "moderators," values-clarification "specialists" and various other intervention-facilitators"[5] on detached duty from the veteran cadres of this or that sociological tac squad.

As a professional connected with ESL teaching--presumably privy to a few modest insights into the situation--I found myself being interrogated regularly by well-meaning, though plaintive, colleagues (basking in the laminated glow of their cheerful job-recruitment posters) who asked me to explain, if I could, what they said was the great "mystery" they saw in the (to them) "incomprehensible" behavior of the great majority of adult Spanish-speaking ESL students.

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[4] Sample headlines from a local newspaper: PARENTS, STUDENTS VENTILATE GRIEVANCES AT ALISAL HIGH; COOL IT, FACE IT, SOLVE IT, PRINCIPAL SAYS; SCHOOL SCUFFLE STIRS RUMORS. And in the body of one story there was this exchange: Mexican girl: "We need cultural classes that don't teach you Pancho Villa was a bandit and not only about Puritans and stuff, people I can't identify with." Mr. H. (municipal official): "The majority here are Americans..."

Parent in audience: "I've had children in school for five years and each year it seems we're having more...racial problems..."

"This wheel has been discovered before," the school superintendant remarked about campus unrest. "It is happening...all over."

[5] It's a melancholy fact that many "process-persons" (first cousins to "resource-persons," of course) well meaning and dedicated as they undoubtedly are, but still encapsulated within their activist binary and still circular vocabularies (subtract the minuses and add the pluses) frequently end up deluding both themselves and their constituencies. "Solving" a dilemma that's been reduced to a statistically-derived artifact, with component "factors" which, once enunciated, tend to become the sole referential holy writ of measurement (whether or not they really exist on land or sea) is more a species of faith-healing than anything else. But the Awareness Industry is firmly entrenched--enshrined, I guess I mean--so who are we to cavil?

"...this character who divides you into small groups and tells you it is time for you to break up, time to work at your task, time to report to plenary, this magician of the flip charts who listens to your reports, scribbles the points down...never ceases to speak foreign idioms such as '*I think I hear you saying*'...subtly, deviously...teases me out of my awareness of social life as it IS..." (Benjamin DeMott in "Hot Air Meeting," *Harpers*, August, 1974.)

It was a great "mystery," they said, why the students, for instance, didn't just grit their teeth, take off after English, once and for all! Didn't they realize--English was the one indispensable open sesame to a better life here? And why have such a "negative attitude," why wear such a perennial chip on your shoulder? The fact is, all our ancestors at one time or another had to struggle with the same sorts of things, didn't they? (The acquisition of English, the struggle to survive, as newcomers, against terrific odds, etc.) And why call it English as a SECOND language--wouldn't English as a FIRST language be more *appropriate*? And how could they (the students) be taught to be more 'goal-oriented,' be stimulated to pursue more worthwhile 'performance-objectives' in life? For while everyone understands--"It's better to give than receive" still "God helps those who help themselves"--doesn't He? And what was the good of complaining about these soap opera sorrows all the time, clinging to those precious little miseries so much?[6] Didn't it come down to a "simple" matter of choice? Join us, become part of the country, learn the language, and welcome aboard? Or--pack up, turn around, go back where you came from, and *adios amigos*!

Trying to reply--with some gently-demurring counter questions of my own--I'm afraid I ended up merely bewildering people, not really satisfying anybody. But I kept trying, nonetheless, to keep things focused on a language learning context.

It could be that one source of resistance to English has come from previous...let's say...*unfelicitous* language contacts, I said. For according to lots of classroom testimony, plenty of Anglos seemed happy to use English as an instrument of persuasion, of direction; they seemed delighted to sell people things, or bill them, investigate them, poll them, even instruct them. But for mere conversation? As a means of mere casual human intercourse? To quote Señor R. (A resident old-timer, seventy years old)..."*you don't agree?...you want to argue? Forget it! There's no one at home!...They're too busy...They can't find...five minutes to sit down to listen!*"

Again, the historic record should, perhaps, be considered: the melancholy treatment of Mexican migrant families over time by generations of English-speaking authorities and the ninety year old fight for de jure integration in the public schools, for instance.[7] Isn't it possible the shocks and aftershocks of such a history, rumbling still in the psychic underground, as it were, might be transmitting, subterraneously, to students a sort of invisible collective shudder, prejudicing them against the shapes and sounds of the very language they're trying to learn? And again, maybe English represents something--in spite of its advantages--which the Spanish-speaking migrant, by temperament, can't help resisting: a terrific speeding-up process, plugging him/her in to a continual information-overload which even those born here can't figure out how to deal with. That, plus a bewildering commodification of everyday terms (time as "money," talk as "cheap") which his/her whole past, cultural, historic, and spiritual--resonates against. Yet it's terrible--and true" if he goes back home he/she may actually end up starving again, or nearly starving. But that still doesn't mean he/she'll necessarily quit dreaming about it, does it, even while marking time, sometimes for decades, by lifting dat barge and toting dat bale on the old California plantation.[8]

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[6] Granted: people in a "no-win double-bind" situation tend to become unconscious fulltime spokesmen of their own vicissitudes, professional victims, difficult to deal with. One sees the same phenomenon in refugee camps, mental hospitals, combat-fatigue wards, ghettos in the inner city: wherever the day-to-day problems seem so overwhelming they tend to blot out all other subjects, the daily liturgy of woes turns into sheer monomania, a non-stop catechism of sorrows. But this glut of words has an unconscious strategic purpose: self-preservation.

"...if interruption and delay become actual frustration, consciousness is heightened to the super-consciousness of a daydream...People often...exhaust energy by talking about a situation as IF they were coping with it, as a WAY of coping with it..." (Goodman. *Ibid*. Chapter 5.)

[7] For a full account, see "Mendez v. Westminster, Race, Nationality and Segregation in California Schools" by Wollenberg in *California Historical Quarterly*, Autumn, 1974.

(As you said--all a "simple" matter of choice, right?)

And speaking of language--how about the contradictory messages he/she keeps getting? For instance, he/she's told: struggle for your rights, fight for your place in the sun, keep pitching in the good old can-do stalking-the-territory-ahead tradition. But when he/she actually does speak up, asks too many questions out in the field, say? Isn't he/she liable to be throttled, hassled, even fired on the spot as a "troublemaker"? And how come when in his/her own country he/she can see Anglo tourists ecstatically wandering here and there, swooning over this or exclaiming over that ..(the reposed ambiente, the sensual rhythms, the casual time-tables, the poetic rituals)--up here he/she's apt to be castigated, if not quarantined, for exemplifying those hitherto swooned-over qualities. Doesn't this suggest some sort of constitutional pathology, some structural split within the stalwart (tho subliminally sub-divided) Northamerican soul?

As for more successful English teaching, probably it has to be prepared for somewhere outside the classroom, in the streets and fields, the attitudes and structure, of the community at large. Which means of course, trying to make a frank (non-pedagogic) distinction, doesn't it, between speaking and speaking up, between dreaming and doing, between words treated as information processors and words treated as instruments of human will, as expressions of personality itself?

Here you will pardon me if I allow myself a parenthetically private note. For as someone who came to ESL through a rather roundabout even improbable route...i.e., literature (in the words of W. H. Auden, I confess to being one of those who have always gotten a great deal of pleasure just by "hanging around words,")..I found my first exposure to the climate and weather of Second Language English classes rather exotic.

I had supposed--naively as it turned out--that, at the least, a modest requisite for anyone interested in teaching English to the foreign-born should be some evinced facility in the writing and speaking of the language, some sensibility to its expressive possibilities, possibly even an enthusiasm for the richness of words themselves,--their juxta-positions, challenges, enigmas and etc.

Alas, it ain't necessarily so. Go to an ESL class. Listen to the native woodnotes wild. You are apt to hear talk about pair drills vs. chain drills, correlative co-efficients, the ADA blues, audio-lingual vs cognitive-code, Pre-Test Post-Test protocols, and so on. Like Saul Bellow's description of literature cannibalized by criticism (he likened it to the one white sneaker still visible in the mouth of a python--remains of a student all but swallowed whole by the gigantic snake), ESL has been all but devoured by methodology on the one hand, and subverted by misuse on the other, since its subject--English itself--is constantly being assaulted by cant, bloat, double-speak, and media-fevers from all sides.

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[8] Of 18,000 Spanish-speaking residents at the peak of the work season, only 12,000 are "permanent" residents. But these, too, sometimes work a swing-shift--migrating to Texas or Arizona in picking seasons. What the continual leeching out of this population really is--permanently homeward bound, that is--is hard to say.

This last point is overwhelmingly important, at least to me. For there is a relationship between the kind of words people use and the kind of world they live in. English as a living language, English as tuning-fork of the individual spirit, personalized pungent memorable English--(Irish-pub English, say)--is very hard to come by these days. Those who teach ESL frequently have, as students, agricultural migrants whose own Spanish--in their own settings and privacy--is a far more eloquent and humanly viable medium than the production line English taught by the teachers, which everyone agrees they need to learn. But if they are being asked to exchange an artisan's original for a hand-me-down copy, is it a fair exchange?

It was Orwell who pointed out (in *Politics and the English Language*) the malignant reciprocal relationship between a deteriorating language and a deteriorating public life. He said that sloppy (or ready-made) thoughts produce sloppy and ready-made phrases. But I don't want to single out teachers, God knows! It is everybody's problem; we are all in the soup; we should all care very much about what's happening to language all around us. And although I recognize the dialectic between a slovenly language and the general malaise has causes far beyond the scope of this essay, it seems to me that ESL teachers who are trying to open the doors to an English-speaking world for migrants, nevertheless should be among the last holdouts, the hardiest strugglers, against the beast of a barbaric and brutalizing language--Bellow's python--lest they end up voiceless and faceless, as it were, devoured whole without even knowing it. As Harold Pinter, the English playwright, has written:

> "Such a weight of words confronts us day in, day out--words spoken in context such as this, by me and others, the bulk of it stale and dead terminology; verbal ready-mades, ideas endlessly repeated and permutated, become platitudinous, trite, meaningless. Given this nausea, it's very easy to be overcome, step back into paralysis... But if it is possible to CONFRONT this nausea somehow...to resist it... then it is possible to say something has occurred, something has happened, something has been achieved." (Interview in *Paris Review*)

Leaving aside for now, however, the bewildering problem of how to mandate appropriate requisites for ESL teaching, and returning to the specific line of criticisms voiced earlier, when I tried to respond as indicated--tried to sketch in, that is, the lineaments of the not-so-invisible plantation on which so many students can still be seen working out their oftentimes life sentences (although what they'd done--if anything--to *deserve* such sentences--as the Red Queen told Alice--has still to be ascertained!) I got back a lot of static.[9]

My interlocuters appeared restive, irritated, resentful, bored. Like the Red Queen, they didn't seem to relish much complication; backed off from dissonance; tended to want to disinfect or neutralize whatever threatened to make them confused, sad, anxious, etcetera. Thus it was *Off With My Head*, *Off With My Head*, in chorus and singly, in polite tones and sharp, from pianissimo all the way up to double forte, time after time after time!

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[9] A report about the responses to over forty showings of the videotape, TALK TO ME, in a variety of public and private settings, which reflects in more variegated detail these findings, is currently in preparation by Lotte Marcus, coordinator of the English On Wheels program who initiated (and herself led) most of the discussions.

That's why we decided to make this videotape.[10] We thought if we could show--preferably to mixed groups--even a small part of the social reality hereabouts, we might be able to inaugurate the beginnings of a real conversation, going beyond the stageprop stereotypes hoarded for so long. (And in the process, who knows, *un*cross a few circuits, perhaps, and, if lucky, even connect a few new ones!)

At the beginning, there's a collage: scenes from the work life of students alternating with their classroom images, played against an inventory of scooped-up conversations: eavesdropped phrases, old wives' tales, professional complaints, official-ese, and lots of gossip, plain and fancy. An auditory reflection, in short, of the social climate contributed to by both sides, in which the ESL students are trying to learn (or, alas, more often than not, failing to learn) how to parry the Russian-roulette contingencies of their lives.

The motto--or sub text--is inspired by Benjamin Whorf (one of the pioneer students of language as a reciprocal determinant of culture) paraphrased here by Paul Goodman, himself an indispensable antidote against the jabberwocky and jargon (expertise of the specialist's isolation ward!) which--on this subject as on so many others--frequently assails us.

"Unless we first experience with displeasure, resistance and wonder, how people are profoundly different and the experience changes ourselves, we will not come to see how they are alike, really alike.

"AND WHAT THEY SAY MAY NEVER BECOME ENTIRELY INTELLIGIBLE TO US..."[11]

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[10] The whole videotape project had, as its genesis, a stint spent by the author some years ago in the Research and Training Unit of the USC Medical School where videotape was used to record student-doctor and patient intake interviews, edited and then played back in small groups, in order to disinfect the situation of its power to intimidate both sides by compelling each to assume ready-made identities (i.e., "Doctor" vs. "Patient" etc.) By stopping, slowing-down and otherwise modifying the taped scene, it was possible to dramatize the potentialities for a living (as against a role-stereotyped) transaction, with obvious human benefits to both sides.

The parallels to the bi-lingual situation in Salinas are, of course, plain, but we are still experimenting--are right now in the process of producing several new videotapes, in which we hope to extend this process even further.

[11] Goodman, *Ibid*. Chapter 4, page 49.

California Association - Teachers of
English to Speakers of Other Languages

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TEACHING COMPOSITION TO LOW-LEVEL ESL STUDENTS

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The Rationale and Theory

Of all the language skills which are taught to low-level ESL students, composition seems to be the most difficult, and neglected, for a number of reasons. While teachers of grammar, reading, listening comprehension, and conversation classes have texts and materials of varying quality which they can use in their classes, teachers of composition are at a loss. The low-level composition teacher usually finds that all he or she has at his or her disposal are pattern practice exercises, grammar exercises, and controlled composition exercises. These exercises typically provide practice in carrying out various kinds of syntactic manipulations on the sentence level, manipulations such as assigning or changing verbal tense, placing or moving adverbs, and making subjects and their verbs agree. Sometimes these exercises give students the opportunity to "personalize" an essay by having them substitute facts and experiences from their own lives for information in a pre-written model essay. While these exercises are of value in giving students practice in sentence writing, the composition teacher is entirely justified in questioning whether these exercises serve any function beyond grammar manipulation, which happens to be in written form. In other words, it seems that we should be asking ourselves if our attempts at teaching composition skills really teach composition, or whether we are simply providing written practice in grammar.

It is necessary to make the distinction between written grammar and composition skills. A native speaker of English, someone who, theoretically, has mastery of the syntax and the common vocabulary of the language, will not necessarily be even a fair writer. The ability to write a clear, concise, logical, and convincing paragraph or essay involves more than just the ability to be able to write a grammatical sentence; it also requires knowledge of acceptable English rhetoric. It follows, then, that a set of well-written sentences will not necessarily form a well-written paragraph. The skill of weaving sentences together into a unified whole requires training and practice, not only for the ESL student, but for native speakers as well.

At this point, we would be quite justified in asking whether low-level ESL students have the ability to execute this kind of language manipulation. Traditionally, developers of ESL materials have thought that they could not. Many textbook writers and teachers have believed, and still do believe, that composition skills, per se, are best reserved for students with at least an intermediate proficiency in the language. Texts like Mary Lawrence's Writing as a Thinking Process (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972) are designed to teach the kind of real composition skills which I have been referring to, but they are not suitable for low-level ESL students because of

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the complexity of the language required.

Is it, then, possible or even desireable to teach free composition skills to low-level students? Some people have taken the paucity of texts designed to teach these skills to be indicative of our inability to do so. I prefer to think, however, that it is both possible and desireable.

As mentioned earlier, composition skills require training and practice. There is considerably more involved in writing than just being reasonably proficient in the language. While speaking and listening are skills which either first or second language learners can acquire simply from exposure to the language, writing, like reading, required specific training. Reading and writing requires training because they are not entirely linguistic.

Reading involves much more than knowledge of the language. A reader must also be able to recognize shapes of words or letters, to concentrate the focus of his/her eyes on a word, phrase, or sentence, and to move his/her eyes from one side of the page to the other. He/she must also be able to see a relationship between a word, phrase, or sentence as pronounced and as symbol on paper, to follow the logic of a passage in order to extract the meaning, and to anticipate, both linguistically and intellectually, what is coming next so as to speed up his/her reading rate. Reading, then, involves not only linguistic abilities, but also visual, intellectual, conceptual, and psychological abilities and strategies. Since there are many native speakers of English who cannot read, but no normal individuals who can read but not speak, it should be clear that reading involves more than just linguistic proficiency.

Similarly, in addition to linguistic ability, writing involves the muscular coordination entailed in handwriting. In addition, paragraph or essay writing requires knowledge of the rhetorical rules of the language and of paragraph and essay structure. For English, these rules involve knowledge of topic sentences, supporting sentences which elaborate on or explain the topic sentence, and concluding statements. In addition, the writer must know that the supporting statements can serve any of a number of logical roles within the paragraph or essay, such as chronological order, cause and effect, process, comparison, contrast, and description. Furthermore, composition writing entails knowing the difference between a generalization and a specific piece of information. And last, the writer must know how to decide what is necessary to support his/her topic sentence and what is extraneous.

The above list of abilities necessary to mastering composition skills is not meant to be exhaustive. Nevertheless, I believe that it does point out the extent to which non-linguistic factors are significant in learning to write. Because these abilities are intellectual and logical rather than specifically linguistic, there is no theoretically sound reason to wait until an ESL student has mastered all or even most of the complexities of the language before we proceed to teach these free composition skills. In fact, because learning to write takes long practice, there is reason to believe that the sooner we start teaching free composition, the sooner our students will be writing well.

Teaching basic composition skills, then, does not necessitate high target language proficiency. The essential organizational structure of paragraph and essay writing can be taught as soon as students can write reasonably acceptable simple sentences. As students acquire mastery of more complex sentence structures, these sentence types can be incorporated into the writing program. Once students have learned to write sentences with subordinate clauses, for example, the writing program can reinforce this newly acquired grammatical knowledge by teaching students how subordinate clauses can be used as sentence connectors and semantic transitions between and among sentences in a paragraph. It seems, then, that if we can devise a writing program which can teach basic composition skills to low-level ESL students, we will not only be teaching composition, but also be reinforcing the grammatical structures which the students have learned and showing practical applications of those structures in writing.

The Method

Training in free composition should begin at the sentence level. Before a teacher can expect to be able to teach basic paragraph structure, including topic sentences, supporting statements, and conclusions, the students must be able to write sentences. For students whose native language is written in a non-Roman alphabet, handwriting lessons may be required. Beyond handwriting lessons, students should receive practice in sentence writing. This kind of training could entail written grammar exercises of various kinds. For example, the teacher could use a form of pattern practice in written form, having the students write their answers. These exercises could involve simple grammatical substitutions or making changes in sentences, such as tense or number. Alternatively, the teacher could provide and exervise in which the students answer questions on paper. The essential point to bear in mind at this level of composition training is that the students should be made aware of what a sentence is, what it looks like on paper, and how to write one.

I have used a number of kinds of exercises to teach sentence writing. For example, for a very low-level class an exercise like Exercise I (see Appendix) might be appropriate. The sentences are written in paragraph form, and there are blanks throughout. The students simply need to copy the sentences and provide the correct form of be in the present tense. In Exercise II, the students are required to provide, for each question, a yes-no answer in a complete sentence, and then write a statement if their answer was "no."

Once students have learned how to write simple basic sentences, they can begin to write these sentences in paragraph form. Exercise III, for example, provides a good deal of control in paragraph structure, but not in the information conveyed. Students can be instructed to simply answer the questions in full sentence form and then write them down in a paragraph, making sure that they indent the first sentence. If each student can be assigned a partner, each can then interview the other (thereby practicing question formation) and then write a simple paragraph about their partners.

Exercise IV provides students with a dialogue which contains only one speaker's part, and they are asked to write the other speaker's part. To complete this exercise, students must be aware not only of how to write a sentence or a question, but also of semantic appropriateness. For example, in Exercise IV a student cannot write Keiyu's responses, he/she will have four pieces of information about Keiyu. He/she will know where Keiyu is from, if Keiyu is a student at the ALI, that Keiyu is hungry, and probably, Keiyu's age. Equipped with this information, written in first person dialogue form, the student will then be able to write a short three or four sentence paragraph, in the third person, about Keiyu.

Exercise V teaches the student their first kind of logical paragraph organization--chronological order. The exercise itself functions on a number of levels. Very superficially, it is an exercise in subject-verb agreement. The first part provides practice in making verbs in the present tense agree with the first person subject pronoun "I." When this part of the exercise is completed, students then go on to write a comparable paragraph about Carlos, a paragraph which provides practice in third person subject-verb agreement. This exercise involves more than simple mechanical syntactic manipulations, however. The students are also made aware of some of the devices which we use to convey chronological order. They learn, for example, that the order of presentation of the sentences is important -- that the order, in fact, represents the order in which the activities are carried out. They also learn that in paragraphs of chronological order in which there is a sequence of events, the verbs referring to those events are all in the same tense, and chronological order structure words, such as first, second, third, then, next, after that, and finally, are used to help clarify the sequence for the reader.

Equipped with this knowledge of the basic structure of a paragraph written in chronological order, students can then write their own paragraphs. Given a set of questions (as in Exercise VI), they can write about themselves or, as this exercise directs, they can interview a partner and write a paragraph about him/her. While this exercise seems to have a good deal of structural control, it should be pointed out to the students that the questions only provide guidelines for the organization of their paragraphs. The essential point for them to realize is that the real structure comes not from the questions which are asked, but rather from the inherent logical relationships which obtain among the various activities -- in this case, the order in which the activities take place. If students adhere to the imposed guideline of writing down the events as they occur and insert chronological order structure words, they will not fail to produce structurally acceptable paragraphs.

One notable characteristic of student-written paragraphs structured in chronological order is that they frequently sound more like lists of events or schedules than real paragraphs. One of the reasons for this particularly unnatural sounding quality is that, in their zeal for maintaining strict chronological order, students frequently leave out details and explanations. What they need to learn is how to "flesh out" their time schedules and provide more information about each particular activity which they relate.

In Exercise VI, for example, questions #5 and #8 do not further the strict chronological order. What the student eats for dinner and how long he sleeps at night, rather than conveying sequence, provide additional information about activities which do form part of the sequence. These two questions were inserted to have the students begin to learn how to make their paragraphs in chronological order more interesting. They also learn that if they want to provide information to explain an activity in the sequence, that information must be presented at the time the activity is mentioned, and before they go on to the next activity in the sequence.

Exercises VII and VIII provide experience in "fleshing out" chronological order paragraphs. Before students attempt to complete Exercise VII, frequency adverbs should have been presented. This exercise, which is a dialogue with one speaker's part missing, gives students practice in writing sentences with the adverbs always, usually, often, sometimes, seldom and never. After practicing writing sentences with frequency adverbs, students are then prepared to write their own paragraphs, as in Exercise VIII. Since they now know one method of adding explanatory information to a paragraph of chronological order and how to use frequency adverbs, the paragraphs resulting from the answers to Exercise VIII will be more varied and interesting than earlier ones.

Up to this time there has been no instruction in how to write or use topic sentences. Because most of the paragraphs which students have been writing up to this point have been strictly chronological, it has not been necessary to teach this very important device of English composition writing.

The topic sentence can be considered to be the backbone of the paragraph. It is usually the first sentence of the paragraph and tells the reader what the topic of the paragraph is going to be. The topic sentence is more than just an introductory sentence, however. It also guides the writer and the reader through the discussion which follows. It is the topic sentence which sets the tone and the focus of the paragraph and holds the supporting sentences together.

Instruction in writing topic sentences should focus on two important points. First, students should be made aware of the introductory function of the topic sentence. They should learn that the sentence should be direct, straight-forward, and clear; there should be no question about what the main idea of the paragraph is going to be. Second, students should learn the unifying function of the topic sentence. Being, in a sense, a statement of intent, the topic sentence should bear a clear relationship to all information conveyed in the paragraph. And conversely, all information in the paragraph should serve to elaborate on or explain the topic sentence. Any sentence or part of a sentence which is extraneous and does not meet these criteria should be eliminated.

I have found two successful ways of teaching students the function of a topic sentence. One, as exemplified by Exercise IX, is to give students several unrelated paragraphs without topic sentences and to have them write a topic sentence for each. After reading the paragraph in Exercise IX, for example, they should be able to write a topic sentence such as "I have a boring job," or "My job isn't very interesting."

Another way to teach students the function of the topic sentence is to give them several possible sentences and to ask them to choose the one which best expresses their own feelings. Exercise X, for example, asks students to write a paragraph about what they usually do on Saturday. The exercise asks for present tense (to indicate habitual activity), chronological order, and frequency adverbs. The exercise then offers four possible topic sentences which students could choose and includes the option of writing their own if none of the suggestions is suitable. Most students have no difficulty with this kind of exercise, and if a student should choose a topic which is inappropriate in terms of what he later writes, the error can be easily recognized and corrected.

One theoretical teaching principle which is rapidly gaining popularity is spiralization. Spiralization is a process by which a body of material is taught, allowed to lie dormant in the students' minds for a period of time, and is then re-taught, usually with more elaborate and complex explanations. Spiralization is especially appropriate for the kind of writing program which I have been outlining. Since new writing skills build on previously taught skills, it is an especially sound pedagogical practice to go back to the the foundation periodically to see that it is still stable.

Exercise XI was designed as a review of chronological order and topic sentences, as as a vehicle for introducing the notions of variety and style in writing. The exercise consists of a chronological list of activities and a paragraph, in chronological order, relating those activities. The students' task is to improve the paragraph.

A quick reading of the paragraph in Exercise XI reveals a strict adherence to chronological order, almost to the point of absurdity. The essential problems with the paragraph are the lack of explanatory, additional information, redundancy in using both then and a time expression in the same sentence, and the overuse of the transitional expression then and the frequency adverb always.

Improvement of this paragraph should be a class-oriented task rather than a student-oriented task. The lesson could most profitably be undertaken by having the teacher read the paragraph to the class, accentuating the redundancy and the repetitious style. By the time the teacher has finished reading the paragraph, most students will have grasped how tedious and repetitious it is, and the teacher can then ask students to state what they think is wrong with the passage. As a group, the class can then make suggestions for improvement. Throughout the discussion of improvements, the teacher should encourage students to eliminate some of the redundancy and to vary the placement of some of the temporal adverbs. The teacher should also suggest other forms of transitional expressions that could add variety and should remind the students that it is not necessary to mention the specific time of every activity. For example, the teacher could encourage the students to rewrite the paragraph into something like the following:

> Saturday is always a busy day for me. I always get up at 10:00. Then I get dressed. At 10:30 I eat breakfast. After breakfast I clean my room for an hour. At noon I have lunch. Then I go shopping. From 2:00 to 4:00 I always play tennis. After tennis I take a shower. Then I take a nap. I always eat dinner at 5:00. After dinner I write a letter. Then I watch television. At 10:00 I always go to Ripples. At 1:00 I go to bed.

While this paragraph is still not the most engrossing we have ever seen, it is a vast improvement over the original. This improvement can be attributed to a reduction of redundancy, a shift in the placement of adverbs of time, and an elimination of the specific time of every activity, allowing the chronological order to convey the sequence. With encouragement, some explanatory information such as what the writer eats for breakfast, where he goes shopping, what he eats for dinner, and which television programs he watches can be added. Finally, if students have already been taught how to combine simple sentences with conjunctions, the style of the paragraph will be even better. Consider the following improved paragraph:

> Saturday is always a busy day for me. On Saturday I get up at 10:00 and then get dressed and eat breakfast. I usually have toast and coffee, but sometimes I have eggs, too. After breakfast I clean my room and then go shopping. I like going downtown, but sometimes I go to neighborhood stores. From 2:00 to 4:00 I play tennis. After tennis I take a shower and then a nap. At 5:00 I eat a light dinner, and then I write a letter. Afterwards I watch the situation comedies on television. At 10:00 I go to Ripples and always go to bed at 1:00.

There is nothing in this improved paragraph which students do not already know. By simply reinforcing the idea of chronological order, minimal redundancy, explanation and elaboration, as well as variety in the use and placement of transitional expressions, a teacher can get students to write this kind of paragraph.

Conclusion

The concern of this paper has been to try to demonstrate how real composition skills can be taught to ESL students whose mastery of English is limited. The theoretical assumption behind the arguments is that the ability to write a lucid, coherent essay entails more than just linguistic abilities; specific training in composition skills and rhetoric is also required. These skills can be taught to low-level ESL students because they are largely logical and do not necessitate advanced linguistic abilities.

Several different kinds of composition exercises, all requiring minimal syntactic and vocabulary knowledge, have been illustrated and discussed. These exercises run from those which teach students how to write simple sentences to those which require that students vary their styles to make their essays more interesting and readable.

The exercises have only concentrated on topic sentences and chronological order, and even these topics have been far from exhausted. The exercises have been intended to illustrate some of the writing-teaching procedures which can be used successfully. Similar kinds of exercises can be used to teach other logical semantic relationships such as cause and effect, and comparison and contrast.

Because the language abilities of low-level students are limited, exercises on the sentence level should be completed before the students try to write paragraphs or essays. If it is possible to coordinate the grammar program with the writing program, it will be easy for teachers to present students with immediate, practical applications for their new grammatical knowledge, such as subordinating and coordinating sentences, and making structures parallel.

As the writing program proceeds, students will need additional practice in writing appropriate topic sentences and in "sticking to the topic" -- especially in maintaining focus and in avoiding including extraneous, unnecessary information in their writing.

If a writing program, such as the one which has been outlined here, can be implemented in a low-level ESL program, we can expect to see rapid progress in students' writing performance well before they reach the advanced proficiency levels. Their writing will be organized, principled, and varied, and they will readily see applications for new grammatical knowledge in their writing.

APPENDIX

SOME LOW-LEVEL ESL COMPOSITION EXERCISES

(All sample exercises are taken from Taylor, Writing in English: Composition for Low-Level ESL Students, in preparation. THESE EXERCISES ARE NOT TO BE REPRODUCED IN ANY FORM WITHOUT WRITTEN PERMISSION FROM THE AUTHOR.)

Exercise I -- Copy the following paragraph on a separate sheet of paper and use the correct form of the verb be in the present tense.

My name______Pablo Mendez. I_____Mexican. I_____from Mexico, and my language_____Spanish. I _____24 years old. Akio Tanaka_____my friend. He_____not Mexican; he_____from Japan. He_____Japanese. His language_____not Spanish; it_____Japanese. He_____23 years old. etc.

Exercise II -- Answer these questions using complete sentences:
Example: Is Pablo from Peru? -- No, he is not from Peru. He is from Mexico.

1. Is Pablo from Japan?
2. Is Pablo's language Spanish?
3. Is Pablo 27 years old?
4. Is Akio 26 years old?
5. Is Akio Pablo's friend?

.

.

etc.

Exercise III -- Write a paragraph answering the following questions:

1. What is your name? 2. Where are you from? 3. What is your language? 4. How old are you? 5. What is your occupation? 6. Where are you now? 7. Is this your first trip to the United States?

Now, ask your partner the questions at the top of this exercise. Write a short paragraph about your partner.

Exercise IV -- Write Keiyu's part in the following conversation:

Keiyu: Carlos: My name is Carlos.
Keiyu: Carlos: I am from Bolivia. Where are you from?
Keiyu: Carlos: Yes. I am a student at the ALI. Are you a student here?
Keiyu: Carlos: I'm twenty-four years old. Are you hungry now?
Keiyu: Carlos: Good. Let's go to the cafeteria.

Now, write a short paragraph about Keiyu, using the information in this conversation.

Exercise V -- Copy this paragraph and write the verbs in the correct form.

I (get up)____every morning at 8:00. First, I (wash)____my face. Then, I (brush)____my teeth. Next, I (eat)____breakfast in the cafeteria. I always (have)____eggs, toast, and coffee. I never (drink)____tea. Finally, I (look for)____my books, (put on)____my coat, and (walk)____to the ALI.

Now write a composition. Tell what Carlos does in the morning.
Carlos gets up every morning____etc.

Exercise VI -- Ask your partner what he does every evening and write a paragraph that answers these questions:

1. When do you arrive at home every evening? 2. What do you do first? 3. Then what do you do? 4. What time do you eat dinner? 5. What do you eat for dinner? 6. What do you do after dinner? 7. What time do you go to bed? 8. How long do you sleep?

Exercise VII -- Write Akio's part.

Carlos: I always eat dinner at 6:30 in the evening. When do you always eat dinner?
Akio: I________________. Where________________?
Carlos: I usually eat in the cafeteria, but I sometimes go to a restaurant. Do you always eat dinner at home?
Akio: No,______________. What do you usually order in the restaurant?
Carlos: I usually order hamburgers because I like them. I never have fish. What do you usually order?
Akio: I__________, but I never order_________because_________________.
Carlos: Americans often eat hot dogs. Do you ever eat hot dogs for dinner?
Akio: Yes, I__________________, but I seldom have____________________.
Carlos: I like coffee very much. Do you usually drink coffee with your dinner?
Akio: No, I never________________. I always________________________.

Exercise VIII -- Write a paragraph about what your partner eats at dinnertime. Be sure to answer the following questions:

1. When does Mr. A usually eat dinner? 2. Does he always eat dinner at that time? 3. Where does he usually have dinner? 4. Does he always have dinner there? 5. What does he usually eat at dinnertime? 6. What does he never eat at dinnertime? 7. Does he often drink coffee with dinner? 8. Does he usually drink milk? 9. Does he ever drink tea? 10. What does he usually do after dinner?

Exercise IX -- Write a topic sentence for the following paragraph:

__________________________________. I get up very early every morning, so I can be on time for work. I start work at 8:30 every day. Most of the time I just sit in the office and answer the telephone. I never meet the people who come to see my boss. I only answer the telephone and take messages. The other girls in the office are also bored with their jobs. One of them types; the other one files papers in a large filing cabinet. We usually go to a small, inexpensive restaurant for lunch. We only have a half hour for lunch, so we usually eat very quickly. Then we return to the office. I sit by the telephone again, Gloria sits at the typewriter, and Paula continues her filing. We are always happy at 5:00 because we are finally finished for the day.

Exercise X -- Write a paragraph that tells what you usually do on Saturday.

1. Use present tense.
2. Use frequency adverbs -- always, usually, ...
3. Use chronological order -- first, then, next, afterwards, in the morning, in the evening, in the afternoon, before lunch, after dinner, after breakfast, ...

Possible topic sentences:

1. I never work very hard on Saturday.
2. I always work hard on Saturday.
3. I usually relax on Saturday.
4. Saturday is always a busy day for me.

.

.

etc.

Exercise XI -- Saturday: 10:00 - get up, 10:15 - get dressed, 10:30-eat breakfast, 11:00 - clean my room, 12:00 - have lunch, 12:45 - go shopping, 2:00 - play tennis, 4:00 - take shower, 4:30 - take a nap, 5:00 - eat dinner, 6:00 - write a letter, 7:00 - watch television, 10:00 - go to Ripples, 1:00 - go to bed

How can we improve this paragraph?

Saturday is always a busy day for me. First, I always get up at 10:00. Then I always get dressed at 10:15. Then I eat breakfast at 10:30. After that I always clean my room from 11:00 to 12:00. Then I always have my lunch at 12:00. Then I go shopping at 12:45. Then I always play tennis from 2:00 to 4:00. Then I always take a shower from 4:00 to 4:30. Then I take a nap from 4:30 to 5:00. Then I eat dinner at 5:00. Then I write a letter at 6:00. Then I always watch television from 7:00 to 10:00. Then I always go to Ripples at 10:00. After that I always go to bed at 1:00.

Version 2 --

Saturday is always a busy day for me. I always get up at 10:00. Then I get dressed. At 10:30 I eat breakfast. After breakfast I clean my room for an hour. At noon I have lunch. Then I go shopping. From 2:00 to 4:00 I always play tennis. After tennis I take a shower. Then I take a nap. I always eat dinner at 5:00. After dinner I write a letter. Then I watch television. At 10:00 I always go to Ripples. At 1:00 I go to bed.

Version 3 --

Saturday is always a busy day for me. On Saturday I get up at 10:00 and then get dressed and eat breakfast. I usually have toast and coffee, but sometimes I have eggs, too. After breakfast I clean by room and then go shopping. I like going downtown, but sometimes I go to neighborhood stores. From 2:00 to 4:00 I play tennis. After tennis I take a shower and then a nap. At 5:00 I eat a light dinner, and then I write a letter. Afterwards, I watch the situation comedies on television. At 10:00 I go to Ripples and always go to bed at 1:00.

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ON USING THE NATIONAL OBSERVER AS AN ESOL TEACHING DEVICE

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The National Observer, as a weekly supplement to an ESOL composition class, offers many advantages over a daily newspaper. It provides well written up-to-date content which can generate writing topics and motivate foreign students to read on their own. By presenting the basic structure and format of the Observer in a concise and careful manner, and by utilizing the pictures and captions found on page one, an ESOL teacher can assist his students in crossing the language difficulty threshold and in attempting to comprehend the main idea in a news article. This material, in turn, may be used with an ESOL composition text to expand and update content of general interest to foreign students.

Charles Blatchford's article, "Newspapers: Vehicles for Teaching ESOL with a Cultural Focus" (Blatchford, 1973), prompts me to share my experiences using the weekly *National Observer* as a companion "text" in an ESOL composition class. In my opinion, the *Observer* has many advantages over a daily newspaper:

a. The *Observer* functions more like *Time* or *Newsweek*, somewhat like a newspaper-magazine.

b. The format or structure of the paper remains constant.

c. News coverage of a developing event that would change from day to day in a daily paper is summarized (usually by one author) in an in-depth article after sufficient data has been gathered.

d. Since the news of the previous week has had a chance to "jell," there are fewer attempts at sensationalism.

e. The *Observer* is easier to divide, carry around, and handle than a week's worth of newspapers.

The *National Observer* is fortunately available via a newspaper-in-the-classroom program at reduced educational rates for a period ranging from three months to one year (Subscription Department, 200 Burnett Rd., Chicopee, Mass. 01021). The publication reaches one's mailbox each Monday and is an excellent teaching device for opening each week with a discussion of highlights concerning recent world events; it adds excitement, discovery, and surprise to the first ESOL composition class of the week. The content is constantly changing.

A shortened version of this paper appeared in the *TESOL Newsletter* 10: 2 (April, 1976).

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The Observer contains many features of a weekly news magazine like Time or Newsweek, e.g., in-depth feature articles on people in the news, copious illustrations, extensive advertising, readership feedback, editorial comment, and well-documented book and theater reviews. It seeks to add a personal touch to weekly news by reporting on how decisions in Washington and Moscow affect people in various areas of the U.S., often including foreign students studying in American schools, especially Arabs, Japanese, and Iranians. Final-page feature articles deal with a wide range of topics including psychology, sociology, linguistics, American government, English, journalism, consumer economics, etc.

In addition to presenting a headline article, the cover-page bottom spells out, in pictures, précis , and captions that rhyme or share a common linguistic feature, four major articles within the Observer. The caption words may have the same base or derivational affix, or may be the same part of speech. A recent sample would be as follows:

Photo of
dentist working
on patient

OVERBITE:

One dentist charges $75 for a service that another renders for only $10. Dental-care evaluators say this isn't unusual. Page 8.

Photo of
automobile at
gas pump

OVERDRIVE:

Foreign-made cars dominate fuel-miser statistics among '76 models, but Chevy's Chevette ties for stingiest at 33 m.p.g. Page 10.

Photo of
striking New
York musicians

OVERTURE:

A strike by 650 musicians darkens Broadway marqees, dimming the most promising theater season in memory. Page 6.

Photo of
Man selling
flowers on
Little Shambles
Lane

OVERHEAD:

Britons worry as the welfare state, backward industry cut their standard of living to near the West's lowest. Page 4.

(National Observer, 14, October 4, 1975)

Drawing of
classical
feminist
warriors

HONE:

Andrea Fordham's recent Back Page article on radical feminism provokes an outpouring of readers' comment. Page 10.

Photo of
doctor's hand
holding patient's
arthritic hand

BONE:

Two doctors think a crippling form of arthritis may be inherited and then triggered by an infection. Page 7.

Photo of
55 MPH speed
limit sign
along highway

MOAN:
Tickets increase, motorists howl as police in several states crack down to re-enforce the 55 m.ph. limit.
Page 5.

Photo of
students on a
college campus

LOAN:
College students needing Government-backed educational loans may have to look hard to find one this fall.
Page 8.

(National Observer, 14, August 18, 1975)

The ESOL student receives on page one of each issue an exercise in English morphology and semantics, a photograph-clue illustrating the main idea of four major news items, a one- or two-sentence summary of all four articles, and the page reference where he can turn to find additional pictures and headlines. Oftentimes there is an accompanying cartoon providing a further hint at the main point of the article. All this information provides background material which an ESOL teacher can present slowly and carefully so as to draw a foreign student closer to the crux of a news item. Writing the four caption words on the blackboard and picking out the bases and affixes, or setting up paradigms to illustrate parallel words and phrases, would, in my opinion, be the best way to begin. English vocabulary building is a constant need for a foreign student, and morphological analysis aids in making educated guesses concerning parts of speech, meaning, etc., when dealing with words in context.

Concerning the accompanying cartoons mentioned above, those in the Observer deal for the most part with political events and often present caricatures depicting famous people in the news. Jib Fowles' article, "Ho Ho Ho: Cartoons in the Language Class" (Fowles 1970) provides useful strategems for assisting foreign students in analyzing the often puzzling meanings of cartoons. Recognizing the figure in a caricature and discovering the incongruity or irony that would make an American laugh are cultural-insight skills that are quite difficult for a foreigner to acquire. In most instances clues must be provided from the front page of the Observer, or from the text of the accompanying news article within the body of the paper. The class should grasp the central idea of a news item before attempting a cartoon interpretation.

Jib Fowles' article clearly demonstrates the difficulty involved in explaining a one-panel drawing from Look, The New Yorker, or Playboy (Fowles 1970, 155-159). Political or current-event cartoons present an even stronger challenge to the ESOL teacher and student. To comprehend why Uncle Sam is pictured attempting to crawl away from Indo-China, even though his toes are deeply rooted into the ground, a foreign student needs guidance. An eight ball falling from an ICBM and striking President Ford on the head, or Nixon pictured being trapped in the corner of a cell, demand a lot of background material carefully presented by an instructor who briefs himself/herself on the news daily and keeps abreast of latest developments. As Blatchford states, in most cases one doesn't have much time to prepare for a discussion of Monday's newspaper ahead of time (Blatchford 1973, 149). Perhaps the best preparation would be skim reading an early-morning edition of a major American metropolitan newspaper daily. In any case, an ESOL teacher must be selective and not expect to cover all the nuances of each editorial or cartoon. He/she should not be embarrassed upon descovering that his/her interpretation or knowledge in a particular subject area is inaccurate or limited. Sometimes not knowing all the answers is an exercise in humility, providing a situation which allows the students to contribute information and generate discussion. For example, foreign students who are well read in history and current world issues can function as resource persons and assist the rest of the class. The teacher can take a back seat to those students who may have expertise in a particular subject area. Of course, one should make every effort to control the discussion and act as a moderator, sometimes a very difficult role to play and a real exercise in tact.

Another classroom problem with the Observer arises when caricatures depicting American leaders as clowns, birds, sharks (taken from the ad for the movie Jaws), animals, etc., upset foreign students who come from countries with a rigidly controlled press. Also, "what if" stories relating to government officials sometimes shock an ESOL class, e.g., a headline story speculating on what might happen if a leader were assassinated. The directness with which our high ranking officials are lampooned and criticized often upsets foreign students, and again the ESOL teacher is faced with a problem of promoting an understanding and appreciation of the wide range of freedom American news media have to criticize. The class may be even more upset when they see their own leaders lampooned in the American press, e.g., Ghandi, the Shah of Iran, etc. Anything the instructor can introduce early in the class to provide background material on American journalism policy will ease the transition to an American newspaper and the culture shock of viewing TV news here.

In my opinion, a good companion text to use with the Observer would be Letters from Roger (Campbell and Bracy 1972). An ESOL teacher can easily find news stories in the Observer to parallel some of the subjects discussed in Roger: ecology, minority group problems, UFO's, pollution, dialects, international conflicts, drug use, racism, radio or TV programs, comic strips, women's lib, customs, and the want ads. The Observer brings to topics presented in Roger to life providing up-to-date opinion and information on the same issues the students will be writing about to Roger. Some of these subjects are often discussed on the Observer's front page with headlines, pictures, and cartoons.

Roger provides models to illustrate various writing styles, i.e., expository, narrative, and argumentative. These samples can be added to easily by drawing parallel examples from the Observer and by having the class compare the style features of their letters with the register of a range of articles in the Observer. Roger attempts to demonstrate the differences between an informal letter to a friend and a formal letter to the registrar of a university. This comparison can be easily expanded by selecting appropriate samples from the Observer, e.g., formal editorials in comparison with readership feedback letters. In short, one ought to be able to cite pieces of writing to illustrate all of Joos' "Five Clocks": frozen, formal, consultative, casual, intimate (Joos 1967, 11).

An additional source for interesting writing samples and challenging assignments would be advertisements. For example, some recent ads have advocated boycotting Russian and Japanese products in order to protest the slaughtering of whales. The arguments were supported by several conservation groups. Many students (primarily Japanese) in my ESOL class took an opposing stand and presented well-thought-out counterarguments by reason of economic necessity. Whaling restrictions become a personal problem for a particular group of foreign students who have strong opinions concerning an industry which plays an essential part in their country's economic survival.

Even with the suggestions and examples offered in Fowles, in Blatchford, and in this article, on how to incorporate a newspaper into an ESOL class, an instructor will still have great trouble getting news material in American English across to students. The Oberver is very difficult reading for a foreign student with a TOEFL score between 450 and 550. A great deal of dictionary work is required just to comprehend subheadings and picture captions, so the language difficulty threshold may prove to be a hard hurdle to cross for the first two or three issues. However, after the teacher presents the format or structure of the paper a few times in a clear and careful manner, the students will tend to fall into the Monday ritual of focusing on the lead article headline and closely analyzing the four bottom pictures until they grow more proficient at making educated guesses concerning the meanings of words in context. Many foreign students in California listen to all-news radio programs or PBS-TV news programs such as KQED's "Newsroom" in San Francisco, so they come to class with at least partial answers to some of the past week's questions and issues as raised in the Observer. In many instances they don't need a word-by-word analysis to grasp the main idea.

Lastly, the most difficult content for foreign students to comprehend in the Observer is a feature or in-depth article presenting extensive analysis and historical background on a complicated development or event, e.g., Watergate, the SLA, bicentennial stories, the political situation in India, etc. Such material could be carefully assigned to those students majoring in a field directly connected with the feature article, e.g., letting economics majors explain articles on cost of living, inflation, tax cuts, etc., or having political science majors analyze recent events in Portugal or Italy. Even literature majors can get practice in their subject area by explaining articles on Twain, Hemingway, Faulkner, etc., to the class. At present many foreign students seem to be interested in the U.S. Bicentennial and could be given assignments from an on-going series of historical articles dealing with America during the revolutionary period.

Conclusion

To sum up, the Observer is a very difficult "text" for a foreign student to read. However, it does have an advantage over a daily paper in that the news stories cover events of the past week, and many students who keep up with the latest happenings by listening to radio or watching TV are not coming to the content "cold." Encouraging the class to "listen and look" whenever they have a chance to come in contact with the American news media may take the fear away from students who view the Observer as a far too difficult periodical to read. The ESOL teacher should use the Observer's pictures and captions, encourage class discussion centering around any item that would be of interest to a foreign student, take advantage of students with expertise in a certain field, and prepare the class for the shock of satire and criticism in American journalism. The reward for s/his hard work as news reporter, moderator and interpreter comes the following semester when some students return and request a resubscription. A Monday-morning news briefing habit has set in.

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MAKE YOUR OWN ESL BOARD GAME

Ola Jane Miller
San Francisco Community College District

Games, whether commercially produced or instructor-developed, can be an asset in any classroom teaching situation provided that the game is wisely selected and relevant to the needs of the students. Furthermore, the students must be aware that -- even though playing a game -- learning is their ultimate goal. While there are many commercially produced "word development" games which may be successfully used to review spelling, pronunciation, word meaning, and sentence-building skills, there are few, if any, commercial games which are useful for oral grammar review. Following are a series of ideas for making and playing board games useful in the development of language skills. While this type of game may be used at almost any level of ESL teaching, I have found it to be especially successful with secondary and adult students.

My method of developing and using board games in the classroom has been tried in several types of classes and has been continually revised and up-dated in order to make the process rewarding for both the rapid and the slow learners. This method not only helps to break the monotony of classroom instruction, but also promotes reading, speaking, and listening skills. It also allows students to work at their own pace, encourages students to engage in free conversation, and permits students to teach and correct each other in a relaxed atmosphere.

The ESL Board Game I have developed may be used (1) to practice many types of grammatical structures; (2) to review and practice such areas as vocabulary, spelling, two-word verbs, idioms, etc.; (3) to review factual information, such as U.S. history, civics, and citizenship questions, getting a driver's license, or testing reading comprehension. The game can also be used quite successfully in bilingual classrooms to practice either first or second language skills.

Following are the rules for playing my game. You will need to study these rules carefully to understand the mechanics of developing an ESL Board Game and to visualize the various subject matter which can be dealt with. The rules also offer suggestions for getting the most positive results when using the game, and point out pitfalls which tend to discourage the student.

THE ESL BOARD GAME: RULES AND TECHNIQUES

I. The Game

A. Equipment

1. A deck of instructor-made "question-answer" type cards which contains the grammatical or other information to be reviewed.

2. An instructor-made game board, similar to a Monopoly Board.

3. A standard die.

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B. Playing

1. A player throws the die.
2. The player advances forward the number of spaces equal to the number shown on the die face.
3. The player attempts to answer a question card.
4. The player is awarded points if the question is answered correctly.

C. Philosophy: The correct playing of the game is one of the essential points for complete development of well-rounded, spoken English skills.

1. To encourage oral and aural skills, players must alternate reading the question cards aloud to each other. Likewise, a player taking a turn must respond to the question aloud.

2. A player should not be allowed to look at the card until she/he tried to respond orally.

3. Since the questions are read and answered aloud, students must learn to speak distinctly and clearly so that they can be understood.

4. Oral reading of the cards also allows students to assist, correct, and instruct each other. The instructor should encourage such peer evaluation from the beginning.

II. The Game Cards

A. The Deck

1. The cards are the most important feature of the game and its success as an instructional tool.

2. For best results each deck should contain from 50-75 cards.

3. Each deck should feature a single grammatical point. For example:

   a. changing present tense to past tense
   b. changing singular subjects to plural subjects
   c. using relative clauses
   d. forming questions in the perfect tense

4. Each card has a "question" on one side and the correct "answer" on the reverse.

5. Before each game begins, the instructor must demonstrate to the students the proper way to respond to the "question" cards. All the cards within a deck should follow a like format.

6. In every case the "question" may not be an actual question, but may appear in statement form. Some examples:
   a. Changing positive statements to negative statements,
      Q: I want some coffee.
      A: I don't want any coffee.

b. Using relative clauses,
   Q: The man is stealing a car. Is that your car?
   A: Yes, the car which the man is stealing is mine.

B. Suggestions for Elementary Cards

1. On a very elementary level game cards may be used to review vocabulary, spelling, and reading skills.
   a. For vocabulary review and for teaching object recognition primarily to illiterates or beginning readers, game cards may be made with a picture or drawing on one side and the English equivalent on the other.
   b. If spelling skills are desired, the game may be played by having the student verbalize and spell the word represented by the picture.

2. To help students learn to form and answer questions, pictures illustrating time, actions, professions, etc. may be used in place of a written question. The asking-player would form a question based on the picture, and the responding-player would answer correctly.
   a. (a picture of a woman cooking)
      1. Q: What is she doing?
         A: She is cooking.
      2. Q: What did she do yesterday?
         A: She cooked.
   b. (a picture of a man doctor)
      Q: What is he?
      A: He is a doctor.
   c. (a picture of a clock)
      Q: What time is it?
      A: It is 2:15.

3. As the beginning student progresses to the point of forming elementary sentences, basic grammatical structures may be reviewed by use of the game cards. The possibilities are many. A few suggestions:
   a. Changing singular subjects to plural subjects:
      Q: The boy studies hard.
      A: The boys study hard.
   b. Changing statements to questions:
      1. Q: The man goes to the store.
         A: Does the man go to the store?
      2. Q: The man is going to the store.
         A: Is the man going to the store?
      3. Q: The man went to the store.
         A: Did the man go to the store?

C. Suggestions for Intermediate and Advanced Cards

1. Intermediate and advanced level cards follow the same basic format as those for the elementary level. The only difference is that the questions and answers become more complex.

2. The cards are an excellent way to review:
   a. all major verb tenses
   b. the principal parts of irregular verbs

3. Remember that with each new card game the instructor will need to advise the players on the grammar point to be covered, and the proper way to respond to the question card.

4. Below are a few examples for intermediate and advanced card decks:
   a. Q: eat...a hamburger
      A: He ate a hamburger.
   b. Q: fly...in an airplane
      A: Have you ever flown in an airplane?
   c. Q: John gave me the records.
      A: The records were given to me by John.
   d. Q: "Put your hands up," the burglar ordered.
      A: The burglar ordered (me) to put (my) hands up.
   e. Q: We had to postpone our picnic because of the rain.
      A: We had to put off our picnic because of the rain.

D. Ways of Reproducing the Cards

1. Type individually onto each card (3" X 5").
   a. advantage: clear and easy to read
   b. disadvantage: time consuming
2. Run questions and answers back to back on ditto paper.
   a. advantage: quick and easy
   b. disadvantage: destructable
3. Type several carbons on typing paper.
   a. advantage: easy
   b. disadvantage: destructable, back carbons hard to read
4. Have students prepare the cards for you.
   a. advantage: good practice for the students
   b. disadvantage: illegible handwriting, mistakes
5. Have an advanced class prepare for an elementary class.

E. Hints and Suggestions

1. Many worksheet grammar problems can be used on the game cards.
2. For beginning and intermediate levels, questions and answers should be structured so that
   a. there is only one possible answer
   b. there is consistency in question response
   c. the answer is controlled.
3. The advanced student should be able to handle questions with a minimum of control. Unless a fluent English speaker plays with the students, open-ended answers leave room for many mistakes. For example:
   a. Q: When the firetruck arrived, ...
   b. Q: If I were rich, ...
4. Color-code and mark one edge and side of each deck. If cards become turned around, they can be easily straightened; or if two decks become shuffled, they can be easily separated.

III. Making the Game Board

A. Supplies:

1. 2 sheets 8½" X 14" typing paper; or one large sheet the desired size for one game board.

2. 17" X 14" stiff cardboard backing (one for each game); or stiff backing the desired size.
3. black marker or felt tip pen.

B. Reproducing the Board

1. Decide upon the desired game format and draw it onto paper, making it the size of two legal typing sheets; or draw the desired board design on the one large sheet.
2. Have your master copy reproduced by Xerox or electronic stencil; or have the large sheet reproduced by photo off-set.
3. Paste or drymount cover papers onto cardboard backing.
4. Protect the playing surface with plastic.

IV. Playing the Game

A. The Players

1. The game may be kept in the classroom for students to use at their own desire, or enough boards and card sets may be available for the entire class to play at one time.
2. Four players are suggested for each game, but as many as six may play successfully.

B. Advancing

1. The game begins with player #1 rolling the die and advancing forward the number of squares equal to the number shown on the die face.
2. Player #2 then reads aloud the first "question" card to Player #1.
3. Player #1 then answers the question aloud. Depending on the accuracy of s/his response, s/he will accumulate points in accordance with the specific rules of the game.
4. When Player #1 has completed s/his turn, the cards are passed to Player #3. Player #2 then throws the die and moves forward.
5. Player #3 then reads the next "question" to Player #2 and Player #2 responds aloud.
6. The cards are then passed to Player #4 and Player #3 takes s/his turn with the die. The game continues in this manner.
7. As the cards are passed around and asked aloud, each answered card is placed at the bottom of the deck so that each player is asked a new and different question.

C. Scoring

1. The instructor may devise any scoring method which s/he feels works best for s/his class. Below are a few suggestions:
   a. Each square could be numbered. A student landing on that square and answering a question correctly would receive the number of points equivalent to the number in the square in which s/he landed
   b. A fixed scoring method could be used where each correct answer receives 3 points; and each incorrect answer received zero points. Partially correct answers could receive 1 point.
   c. I have tried giving minus points for incorrect answers; however. some students never seem to be able to answer anything correctly and become discouraged by their huge minus score. Minus points should therefore probably be avoided.

   - d. A graded point system could be marked on the back of each card, so that the more difficult questions when answered correctly scored higher points than the easier ones. This method makes the game a little more interesting and rewards the student with the better skills.
   - e. The game board can be designed with "free point" squares, so that at some point even the poor student will be able to accumulate a minimal number of points, providing s/he lands in the appropriate square.

2. The game may continue until time is called with the player having the highest score being the winner; or the game may be played until one player makes a designated number of points.

D. Hints and Ideas

1. Don't make the game so long that it can't be finished in 30-40 minutes.
2. Try to avoid game rules which tend to punish the slow student. Having zero points is bad enough.
3. Try to think of ways to get the students involved in making the game.
4. Think of your favorite table games and try to get some winning ideas from them. This is a great way to let your imagination run wild.

APPENDIX

ESL GAME BOARD

The full game board is
shown on pages 90-91.

YOU ARE PROMOTED TO A HIGHER CLASS.

Your English has improved a lot.

Forward: two

YOU NEVER COME TO CLASS ON TIME.

That's bad!

Backward: one

GOOD WORK

Add 2 points.

YOU NEVER MISS CLASS.

Your English has improved tremendously!

Forward: one

Excellent

YOU WRITE A PAPER WITH NO MISTAKES.

Hard work always pays off.

Forward: three

YOU MISS CLASS FOR THREE WEEKS.

Do you really want to learn English?

Backward: one

SPEAK EASY

YOU ALWAYS SPEAK WITH AMERICANS.

It's good practice.

Add 3 points!

YOU NEVER PRACTICE ENGLISH AT HOME!

Backward: two

WHEN SPEAKING YOU NEVER PAY ANY ATTENTION TO YOUR PRONUNCIATION.

No one understands you.

PENALTY: Miss 1 Turn.

YOU ALWAYS COME TO CLASS WITHOUT PREPARING YOUR LESSON.

You'll never learn this way.

Backward: two

TOURISTS ALWAYS ASK YOU FOR INFORMATION, BUT YOU ARE AFRAID TO ANSWER.

? ? ?

Backward: three

YOUR BOSS IS IMPRESSED WITH YOUR ENGLISH -- YOU GET A RAISE $$$$$$$

Forward: one

FANTASTIC!!

Keep on going!

Add 10 points for hard work.

EASY

SPEAK

© Ola Jane Miller, 1976

YOU ENROLL IN AN ENGLISH CLASS.

First step forward

Forward: two

YOU ARRIVE IN THE UNITED STATES!

Forward: one

START

YOU ARE MAKING GREAT PROGRESS!!

California Association - Teachers of
English to Speakers of Other Languages

CATESOL Occasional Papers
Number 3 (Winter, 1976-77)

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND ETHNIC INTEREST

J. Donald Bowen
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The second (Fall 1975) number of *CATESOL Occasional Papers* is an interesting set indeed, with papers competently representing divergent views on a number of issues of considerable importance for language teaching in the state of California and elsewhere. Especially noteworthy are presentations by Edward H. Steinman and Rosalyn R. Kalmar, both on the timely subject of bilingual education, papers that reflect the strongly held convictions of their authors as well as a deep and sincere commitment to more effective educational patterns.

These papers report on different groups. Steinman discusses a linguistic minority, the Chinese speakers of San Francisco, and generalizes from them to other linguistic minorities. Kalmar describes an immersion program in Culver City in which children are learning, and learning in, a second language through a program referred to as home-school language switch. Both authors are emotionally involved: Steinman has a lawyer-client relationship with his subjects and Kalmar a parent-child.

It's interesting to note the differences in program design that these two authors espouse. The Steinman article is a reprint of the testimony given the California State Assembly Ways and Means Committee, a continuation of the legal arguments which won a favorable ruling from the U.S. Supreme Court in 1974 on the question of the legal rights of linguistic minority students to a meaningful education, either through an English-language program specifically and effectively designed for their needs, or perhaps more appropriately, a program of bilingual education that would maximize the advantages of being able to use both languages, Chinese and English. The presentation is a legal brief, designed to convince rather than to explore in the tradition of disinterested research, which therefore cites the arguments that support the case and considers that any evidence which might be used in rebuttal is the responsibility of the opposing attorney. The fact there is no opposing attorney in this instance means that any imperfections in the argument go unanswered.

Most of what Steinman has to say would find a favorable reception among language teachers, who welcome understanding and support and certainly applaud the promise of any real improvements in the conditions under which they work. Mr. Steinman and his colleagues have done education a great favor in calling attention to the shortcomings of the programs of instruction that have been provided for Chinese-speaking and other linguistic minority students, and the language-teaching profession should be grateful.

In his presentation to the Supreme Court Mr. Steinman raised two basic issues: 1) "special instruction in English" and 2) the claim that such instruction "must be taught by bilingual Chinese-speaking teachers," since without such teachers the special instruction in English would be "a fruitless gesture,

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Mr. Bowen is Professor of English at UCLA. The latest book in his profile and distinguished publishing career is *Patterns of English Pronunciation* (Newbury House). This paper was written while the author was teaching at the American University in Cairo, Egypt.

since students would be merely parroting teachers rather than learning English." Mr. Steinman further claims persuasive evidence that these children "could not learn English unless it was taught to them by persons who have a facility in the only language they understand: Chinese," and that the rights of non-English-speaking children can be achieved only by "comprehensive bilingual instruction given by bilingual teachers." This argument has had its effect on subsequent legal interpretations, one of which claims that "bilingual/bicultural education--in which the teacher uses the child's native language as well as English--is required by Lau"(though in fact the Supreme Court "deliberately did not explore the nature of the required remedy"), with a further claim that it is "ineffective to require non-English-speaking children to learn a language with which they are unfamiliar and at the same time acquire normal basic learning skills which are taught through the medium of that unfamiliar language."

Mr. Steinman seems certain that the problem of education for the linguistic minority students has been adequately analyzed and that a satisfactory remedy has been designed, tested, and accepted. Yet experience with educational concepts has shown us many times that a good idea on the drawing boards might not provide an ideal solution when it becomes common policy in the schools. There is lots of room for modesty and humility, and reformers are well advised not to make extravagant claims. Furthermore the research evidence is not as clear as Mr. Steinman would have us believe when he claims that "the wealth of research ... shows the best way to learn another language is to utilize the one already known."

Mr. Steinman may not have considered alternative solutions, but apparently the editor of CATESOL Occasional Papers has, for he has chosen to include in the same volume another article which denies the premise on which much of the Steinman argument is based. The immersion program in Culver City which Mrs. Kalmar describes makes several important points, but the one most relevant to the present discussion is that a school experience in a new language can be very effective in simultaneously teaching that language and teaching the knowledge and skills normally included in the elementary school curriculum. Indeed, one of the astonishing results of the Culver City program, and of the St. Lambert's program in Montreal which it replicates, is that children learn a second language far more efficiently than in any regular school language program, and they do it with no deficit in either the development of native-language skills nor in the subject matter of the normal curricula. In fact in some respects, as Mrs. Kalmar's article points out, the experimental children are superior to the control students, who are studying and being tested in their own native language.

Mrs. Kalmar, a teacher herself and in a strategic position to observe the program through the experiences of her own child in the Culver City classes, is plainly excited as can be seen by her choice of descriptive terms: "startingly effective, native-like proficiency in Spanish, no loss in ability to use English, unique monolingual approach to Spanish, teachers ... speak only Spanish, surrounded by ... the language, children love it, exciting adventure," and similar comments.

Here is no "learning the new language through the one they already know," but immersion in the program, with all class activities and communication in Spanish. Nor is it a fruitless gesture or merely parroting teachers rather than learning the language. Visitors are invariably impressed with the unusually high level of competence achieved by all the students, not just a talented minority. They are, as Mrs. Kalmer says, near native in Spanish, yet none knew any Spanish when they began the program.

Significantly, I think, teachers in the program have come from both cultures--Anglo and Hispano. But the exclusive language of the classroom is Spanish. In the model program in Montreal, equally successful in teaching a second language and a second culture, some teachers have been monolingual French speakers (French is the school language in the Montreal program), imported from France. The cultural background is not the crucial factor in teacher selection--far more important are linguistic skills and personal characteristics (love for children, commitment to teaching, skill and experience in handling school situations, general elementary preparation, etc.) The teachers have not had and have not needed special training in language teaching theory--all that has been necessary for teaching children of this age group is a generous and meaningful use of the language in a real context. Furthermore the astonishing fact that the Culver City program has had no massive financial support from the federal or state governments or from the large foundations, but has been carried out within the normal financing structure of the school district, is a convincing answer to those who claim the schools cannot afford bilingual education--an argument Mr. Steinman raises and dismisses as irrelevant.

It would seem that while Mr. Steinman and his supporters are fencing off the area of bilingual education for linguistic minority students, another bilingual program is achieving outstanding success by violating the very assumptions which might become the dogma of the next generation--if these assumptions are accepted without careful scrutiny and qualified research. I personally do not want to see bilingual education ethnicized, which is more than likely to happen if we write into our legislation or our regulations requirements that "bicultural" teachers are defined (as implied by Steinman) as those coming from the same ethnic group as the students. I oppose this because I think it risks downgrading the concept of bilingual education to make it a program that applies exclusively to minority students and teachers, which would not be in either the long or short term interest of the minority students, and which would further risk scrapping as irrelevant the concept of bilingual education in the general curriculum. It is precisely here--in classes for minority students, who have been shortchanged in the past--where quality preparation and general ability should count most. The very fact of ethnic mixing in the staff will strengthen the concept of bilingual-bicultural education, an advantage that would be lost in an exclusively ethnic staff.

I want to make my opinion fully clear as to favoring inclusion of linguistic-minority teachers in these programs. I have spoken and written urging their inclusion for many years. But I don't wish to see them appointed because they are from a minority group. Even a suspicion of such a reason, or of a quota of such appointments, is damaging. They should be there, but be there because they are the best qualified professionals available. Any hint of an ethnic preserve may very well mean the failure of bilingual education in the larger sense--a program of education that will be generalized in the entire curriulcum and not a compensatory program for foreign born and minority students. I agree wholeheartedly with Dr. Julian Nava (cited by Mrs. Kalmar) that the "disadvantaged child of the future will be the one who knows only one language and one culture." This is an ideal that deserves careful cultivation in our educational planning for the future.

We are obliged by common sense and common justice, of course, to seek out and encourage teachers from minority background groups. Their presence in language or bilingual education programs, where they can serve as cultural as well as linguistic models, is essential to the success of the programs. Every effort should be made to encourage career decisions in education from these groups, including generous scholarship support. But the teaching staff of the best programs will certainly be multiethnic, and the criteria of selection for teachers in these programs will be superior competence and performance.

Mr. Steinman and his friends will rightly point out to us that the minority students have been treated very shabbily and deserve special programs to help them catch up. I enthusiastically support the idea of such programs. I only urge that they be organized carefully, managed sympathetically, and evaluated competently. We must avoid to the maximum extent possible the kind of thinking that imposes preconceived notions, most especially those that even today do not stand up to research scrutiny. Every program has potential as a research laboratory where we can try new ideas and find which ones will stand replication when the focus of interest and the glare of publicity are no longer available to prop up our post-pioneer efforts. It may well be, for instance, that immersion is not the best way to teach the Chinese-speaking students in San Francisco schools. It can be pointed out that immersion is essentially the traditional solution which has conspicuously failed in the past. Are we sure we understand the reasons why immersion is so notably successful in one set of circumstances but has no beneficial effect in another? Are the differences in circumstances variables that we can control if we understand them better? That this is both true and relevant is amply shown by the outstanding success, both academically and culturally, of a group of Hispano children who were placed in the first class of immersion students in grade one, a year after the inception of the program. Under the right set of circumstances, children succeed, in this case in a mixture of both ethnic groups.

Obviously what is needed, especially when at least part of the evidence (with substantial research validity) places the decision in question, is a serious and massive research program that does not foreclose in advance patterns that may eventually turn out to be the most effective answers. These are professional decisions that should not be made by lawyers and politicians.

Bilingual education is too important to risk mismanagement and a resulting disaffection. Let's look at all the research, encourage more experimental programs not encumbered by unnecessary administrative restrictions and preconclusions. Such programs are in the long-term interest of not only the minority students, but of all students. And our decisions must be made by qualified professionals. We have more than enough evidence that neither our ideas nor our tax money comes back enhanced by processing in our centralized bureaucracies.

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A COMPARISON OF LANGUAGE BALANCE IN TWO BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

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A 28-item production test based on 14 minimal grammatical contrasts was constructed in parallel versions for English, Spanish and French. The tests were administered in Kindergarten, 1st grade, 3rd grade and 5th grade in a French/English and an English/Spanish bilingual school to subjects who had entered the school at Kindergarten level as monolinguals as speakers of English (L_1) or Spanish (L_1). The reliability of tests as determined by the coefficient Cronbach α was 0.88 (English L_1), 0.94 (English L_2), 0.77 (Spanish L_1) and 0.94 (French L_2). The comparative language development in the schools measured by mean tests scores indicates (1) that there were only minor difference in L_2 (English, French) achievement, (2) that the French/English bilinguals remained L_1 (English) dominant while the Spanish/English bilinguals approach balance by grades 3 and 5, (3) that L_1 development of the English dominant English/Spanish bilinguals appeared to exceed the L_1 development of the balanced Spanish/English subjects in grades 3 and 5. Since the French and Spanish tests are literal translation of the English test, linguistic cross comparisons should be interpreted with care and the tests used in the experiment are subject to further refinement.

The current interest in Bilingual Education has led to various efforts to develop tests measuring relative proficiency and dominance in two languages on the part of bilingual speakers (e.g., Burt, Dulay and Hernandez-Chavez 1974) including some made by the author of this article (Politzer and McKay 1974, Ramirez and Politzer 1974). However, the tests and results reported herewith are unrelated to these efforts and are the byproduct of a study dealing with the relative development of comprehension and production ability and sequence of second language (L_2) acquisition in two bilingual schools in the San Francisco Bay area: a private French/English bilingual school attended primarily by middle-class children and a Spanish/English Bilingual Program organized under Title VII of the Bilingual Education Act attended primarily by Mexican-American children. In both schools the acquisition of L2 (French,English) is accomplished chiefly by large segments of the curriculum being taught in L2.

The only subjects included in this study were those who upon entrance in either school at Kindergarten level were monolingual in L1 (English for the French/English school, Spanish for the English/Spanish school). The tests in L1 and L2 reported in this study were given during the third and fourth month of the school year (for the Kindergarten children the fourth month of initial exposure to L2). Distribution of subjects over schools and grades is shown in Table I. (Since the overall results showed no significant main effect of sex, male and female scores are not reported separately in this article).

The research reported herewith was undertaken as part of a research project on "Second Language Acquisition in Unstructured Context" authorized and financed by the Stanford University Research Development Fund.

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TABLE I

Subjects Included in the Study

	L_1 English/L_2 French			L_1 Spanish/L_2 English		
Grade	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Kg	10	3	13	10	7	17
1	3	10	13	2	5	7
3	3	8	11	6	4	10
5	4	9	13	6	6	12

The study for which the test used in this article was conducted attempted to furnish detailed information concerning similarities and differences between first and second language acquisition detectable in a relatively natural and unstructured second language acquisition situation (for further information see Chun and Politzer 1975). For the purpose of conducting the investigation an Imitation Comprehension Production Test (ICP Test) of the type used in first language acquisition research (see Slobin, in Ferguson and Slobin 1973) was constructed. On account of time limitations only the "C and P" parts of the tests were administered, and only the results of the "P" (Production) part of the test are used in this article (for a detailed comparison of "C and P" results see Chun and Politzer, 1975).

The test consists of fourteen categories that illustrate a minimal linguistic contrast. Each category is represented by two items. For each item subjects are shown two pictures which illustrate a linguistic contrast. At the same time they are given a sentence describing the picture. Then the examiner points at first to the one and then the other of the two pictures. Each time she/he asks the subjects to produce the sentence associated with the picture to which she/he is pointing. The item is scored as correct if the student's answers reproduce accurately the specific linguistic contrast which is dealt with by the particular item. Thus scores on the total test can range from 0 to 28 and scores on each category from 0 to 2. An inverted scoring system is used (0 = no error; 28 = lowest possible total score on all fourteen items).

The categories used in the test were based on contrasts that have been used in various ICP tests constructed for first language acquisition. Some of them have been utilized already in the study of language development in bilinguals (Kessler 1972). The fourteen categories and one item illustrating each category in English, French and Spanish are listed below.

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ersity and also directs research in second language acquisition and bilingual education at the Stanford Venter for Research and Development in Teaching. His articles have preciously appeared in CATESOL Occasional Papers and in numerous numerous national and international journals devoted to language teaching practice and research.

Category I Singular/Plural:

The girl writes/the girls write.
La muchacha escribe/las muchachas escriben.
La fille écrit/les filles écrivent.

Category II. Present/Past:

The girl is eating/the girl ate.
La muchacha está comiendo/la muchacha comió.
La fille mange/la fille a mangé.

Category III. Present/Future:

The boy is writing/the boy is going to write.
El muchacho está escribiendo/el muchacho va a escribir.
Le garçon écrit/le garçon va écrire.

Category IV. Affirmative/Negative:

The donkey is walking/the donkey is not walking.
El burro está cominando/el burro no está caminando.
L'âne marche/l'âne ne marche pas.

Category V. Mass/Count:

Some chicken/a chicken.
Un poco de pollo/un pollo.
Du poulet/un poulet.

Category VI. Singular Possessor/Plural Possesor:

Her cat/their cat.
El gato de ella/el gato de ellas.
Son chat/leur chat.

Category VII. Masculine Subject Pronoun/Feminine Subject Pronoun:

He is writing a letter/she is writing a letter.
El está escribiendo una carta/ella está escribiendo una carta.
Il écrit une lettre/elle écrit une lettre.

Category VIII. Masculine Object Pronoun/Feminine Object Pronoun:

The dog is biting him/the dog is biting her.
El perro lo está mordiendo/el prro la está mordiendo.
Le chien le mord/le chien la mord.

Category IX. Direct Object/Indirect Object Reversal:

The boy is showing the dog the cat/the boy is showing the cat the dog.
El muchacho le está enseñando el perro al gato/el muchacho le está enseñando el gato al perro.
Le garçon montre le chien au chat/le garçon montre le chat au chien.

Category X. Active Sentence--Agent/Patient Reversal:

The truck is pushing the car/the car is pushing the truck.
El camión esta empujando el carro/el carro está empujando el camión.
Le camion pousse la voiture/la voiture pousse le camion.

Category XI. Passive Sentence--Agent/Patient Reversal:

The girl is hit by the boy/the boy is hit by the girl.
La muchacha es golpeada por el muchacho/el muchacho es golpeado por la muchacha.
La fille est frappée par le garçon/le garçon est frappé par la fille.

Category XII. Embedded Relative Clause--Agent/Patient Reversal:

The boy that the girl hit fell down/the boy that hit the girl fell down.
El Muchacho que la muchacha golpeó se cayó/el muchacho que golpeó a la muchacha se cayó.
Le garçon que la fille a frappé est tombé/le garçon qui a frappé la fille est tombé.

Category XIII. (English) Word Order Change--Relative Clause/Simple Main Clause:

The bird he caught/he caught the bird.
El pajaro que el cogió/el cogió el pajaro.
L'oiseau qu'il a attrapé/il a attrapé l'oiseau.

Category XIV. "Look + Preposition" and Spanish, French equivalents:

The boy is looking at the book/the boy is looking for the book.
El muchacho está mirando el libro/el muchacho está buscando el libro.
Le garçon regarde le livre/le garçon cherche le livre.

Since the test utilized in this study was originally constructed in English, the literal translation of the test items into French and Spanish created problems which must be taken into consideration in interpreting results. Category V (Mass/Count in English) for example, has no exact conceptual counterpart in Spanish (some chicken is not the equivalent of un poco de pollo). Similarly, the literal translation of the English passive sentence into Spanish in Category XI results in a somewhat unusual kind of Spanish sentence.

The detailed discussion of results concerning each category are beyond the scope of this article. Mean scores for each category and relative difficulty ranking for each category according to Duncan's multiple range test (see Siegel 1956) are reported in Table II. In general the rankings show a very great similarity of category difficulty across language and schools. The test also shows considerable internal consistency (reliability). The reliability measure for each test as determined by administration with each school are the following:

English Test (L_1): Cronbach α0.88

English Test (L_2): Cronbach α 0.94
Spanish Test (L_2): Cronbach α 0.77
French Test (L_1): Cronbach α 0.94

TABLE II

Ranking of Categories for Total Scores In
Each School According to Duncan's
Multiple Range Test

	Spanish L_1		English L_2		English L_1		French L_2	
Rank	Mean Score	Category	Mean Score	Category	Mean Score	Category	Mean Score	Category
1	0.20	VII	0.37	IV	0.00	VI	0.40	VII
2	0.30	V	0.54	VII	0.02	IV	0.44	X
3	0.05	IV	0.56	V	0.04	X	0.46	XIV
4	0.07	I	0.59	X	0.06	VII	0.50	IV
5	0.08	VI	0.59	VIII	0.10	III	0.52	VI
6	0.24	X	0.68	VI	0.12	VIII	0.56	I
7	0.24	III	0.71	III	0.28	II	0.58	III
8	0.27	XIV	0.73	II	0.32	V	0.58	II
9	0.37	II	1.07	XIV	0.38	XI	0.75	VIII
10	0.72	XI	1.17	IX	0.42	XIV	0.94	XI
11	0.85	VIII	1.29	XI	0.48	I	1.00	V
12	1.17	IX	1.32	I	0.70	XIII	1.35	XIII
13	1.20	XIII	1.34	XIII	0.92	IX	1.42	IX
14	1.53	XII	1.76	XII	1.38	XII	1.81	XII

├──────┤ indicate intervals within rankings are not statistically significant at 0.05 level.

Mean scores on tests by grade and school are shown in Table III and plotted in Graph 1. Significant differences between L1 and L2 within each school and between L1 and L1 and L2 and L2 across schools are shown on Tables IV A and IV B. Since the tests were scored in terms of errors rather than for correct responses, the graph utilizes an inverted scale on which the best score is 0 (no error) and the lowest possible score 28 (all items wrong).

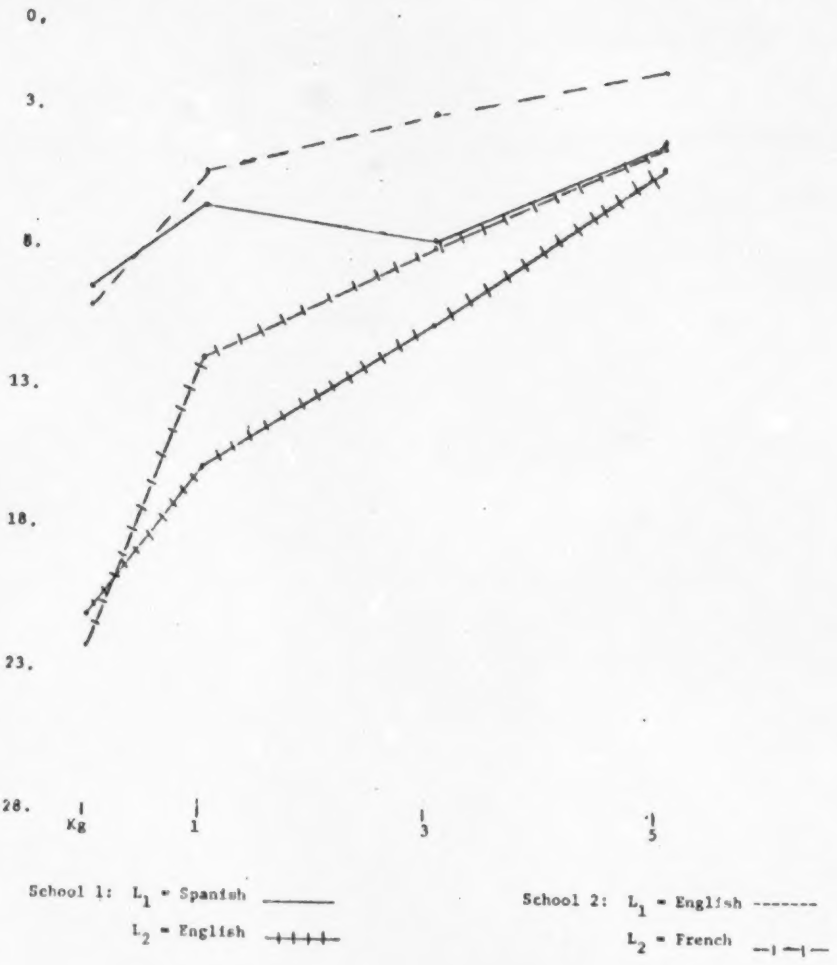
TABLE III

Test Scores in L_1 and L_2 by
School and Grade

	School 1				School 2			
	L_1 Spanish		L_2 English		L_1 English		L_2 French	
Grade	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.
Kg	9.42	4.01	21.00	4.51	10.06	4.13	22.08	4.23
1	6.29	3.29	15.57	3.69	5.09	1.70	11.45	5.05
3	7.30	2.41	10.30	6.15	3.00	2.45	7.36	2.50
5	3.67	2.31	4.75	3.65	1.23	1.09	3.77	1.96

GRAPH 1

L_1, L_2 Mean Scores by Grade and School

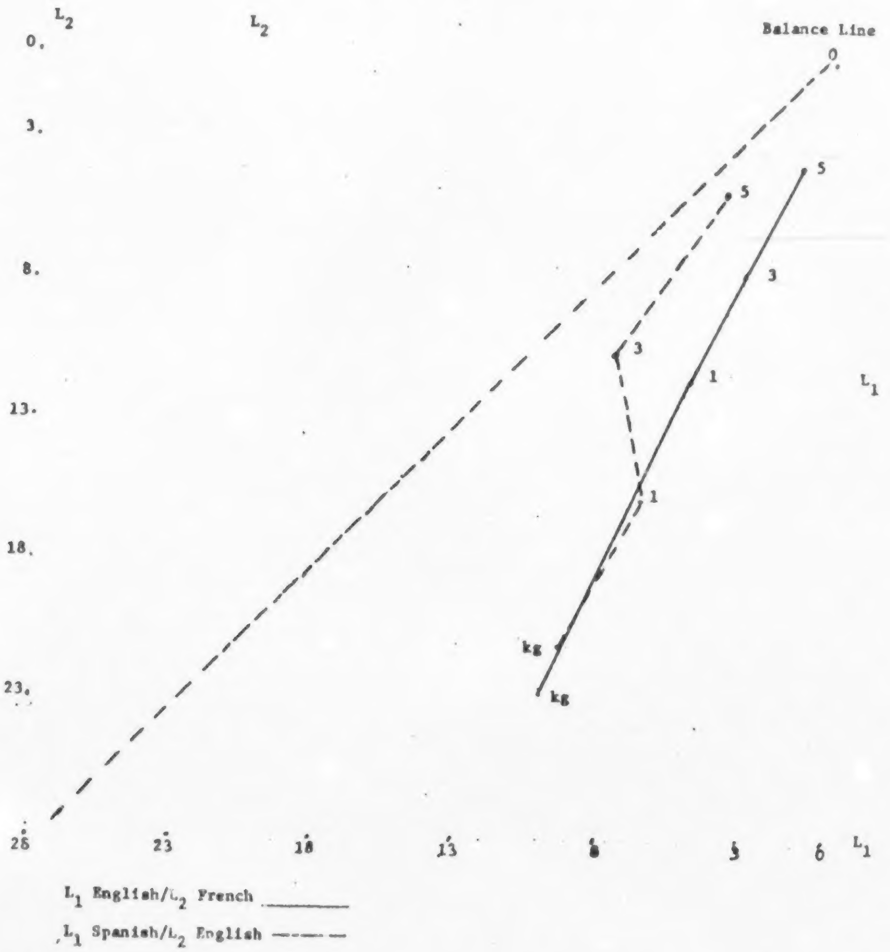


The main result of these cross comparisons are the following: (1)-Except for a possible advantage ($p=0.08$) of the French/English bilinguals over the Spanish/English bilinguals at the 1st grade level, there are no significant differences in L_2 (French, English) between the schools. (2)-In L_1 the French/English bilinguals began to perform better than the Spanish/English bilinguals starting with the 3rd grade level. A great deal of caution must be used in interpreting this phenomenon, however. It could, to some extent at least, be due to the fact that the test was originally constructed in English and may thus favor the English speakers, especially with regard to the more complex categories learned at the upper grade levels. On the other hand it is also possible that a slightly slower development in L1 (Spanish) occurs among the Spanish/English bilinguals because of the difference in dominance configuration noted in (3). (3)– In both schools subjects are L_1 dominant at Kindergarten and 1st grade levels. However, the Spanish/English bilinguals achieve balance (i.e., significant difference between L1 and L_2 scores disappear) with grade 3. The English/French bilinguals, on the other hand, remain "securely" L_1 dominant. This is a particularly interesting result since the French bilingual school in its instruction uses more French than the Spanish/English school employs English. The Spanish Bilingual Program stresses Spanish maintenance, while the French bilingual school is practically a French immersion program. Still, the dominance of English L_2 in the total social environment in which the schools operate evidently had a determining influence on the balance configurations.

An alternate presentation of the balance configuration is given in Graph 2. Following a suggestion made by Zirkel (Zirkel 1974), language balance at each grade level is presented by plotting L1 and L2 scores as functions of each other on a scale ranging from a "low" of 28 possible errors to a "high"of 0 (no errors). The graph has the advantage of showing dominance as well as level of achievement in either L_1 or L_2. It makes it clear that both groups of bilinguals move toward balance and that both groups remain in fact on the "L side" of the balance line. The Spanish/English bilinguals, however, came closer to balance than the French/English groups.

GRAPH 2

Balance Configuration Based
on Total Test Scores Kg,
Grades 1, 3, 5



In order to arrive at generalizations as to how L_1 and L_2 proficiency and language balance are affected by bilingual education programs, many studies carried out in different and well defined educational settings will be needed. Discrete item tests of the type described in this article could serve as a useful tool in arriving at general conclusions concerning sequence of language acquisition as well as the relative efficiency of bilingual educational settings. It goes without saying that further refinement of instruments will be needed in order to eliminate, or at least minimize, the effects produced by translation or by cultural differences in measurements involving crosslinguistic/crosscultural comparisons.

TABLE IVA

Significant Difference between Mean Scores Across Schools by Grade

Grade	Language	d.f.	f ratio	Significance
KG	L_1 L_1	26.1	0.36	NS
	L_2 L_2	24.1	0.38	NS
1st	L_1 L_1	17.1	1.62	NS
	L_2 L_2	17.1	3.45	NS ($p=0.08$)
3rd	L_1 L_1	20.1	16.42	$P < .01$
	L_2 L_2	20.1	2.13	NS
5th	L_1 L_1	24.1	11.07	$P. <01$
	L_2 L_2	24.1	0.72	NS

TABLE IVB

Significance of Difference Between L_1 and L_2 Mean Scores Within Each School by Grade

School	Grade	Language	d.f.	f ratio	Significance
Spanish/English					
	Kg	L_1 L_2	23.1	44.17	$P < .01$
	1st	L_2 L_2	13.1	32.01	$P < .01$
	3rd	L_1 L_2	19.1	2.07	NS
	5th	L_1 L_2	23.1	0.76	NS
English/French					
	Kg	L_1 L_2	27.1	13.15	$P < .01$
	1st	L_1 L_2	21.1	15.71	$P < .01$
	3rd	L_1 L_2	21.1	17.09	$P < .01$
	5th	L_1 L_2	25.1	16.59	$P < .01$

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LAU V. NICHOLS V. HEW

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This paper assesses the HEW guidelines for the implementation of Lau v. Nichols (1975) from a sociolinguistic point of view. Three issues related to particular guidelines and a fourth issue related to the general notion of federal guidelines are raised.

First, the paper suggests that the guidelines may continue the traditional oversimplification of the bilingual process and lull schools into assessments and measurements that will lead to instructional dysfunctions. The guidelines allow schools to behave as if bilingualism does not entail biculturalism and, thus, allow a fallback to "transitional bilingual education" at every level. Second, the guidelines raise unrealistic expectations about bilingual education. Third, the guidelines may serve to create conflict between educational and legal requirements. Finally, the paper suggests that legalistic guidelines are not the best means of complying with the mandate of Lau v. Nichols. The "legalistic" aspect of the guidelines may merely buy time for unmet promises, impose a dense layer of bureacracy that will discourage creative program development, and increase the chance of abuses that may accompany "soft money" funding.

In 1974 I wrote an article (Drake 1975) in which I proposed appropriate responses to Lau vs. Nichols from a sociolinguisitic point of view. At the time the article was written, HEW had declined to furnish guidelines to the schools for the implementation of Lau vs. Nichols. Those guidelines have now been published (HEW 1975). I propose now to assess the guidelines from a sociolinguistic point of view.

The guidelines are organized into the following topics:

1. Identification of Student's Primary or Home Language.
2. Diagnostic/Prescriptive Approach.
3. Educational Program Selection.
4. Required and Elective Courses.
5. Teacher Requirements.
6. Racial/Ethnic Isolation and/or Identifiability of Schools and Classes.
7. Notification to Parents of Students Whose Primary or Home Language is other than English.
8. Evaluation.
9. Definition of Terms.

The title of this piece would seem to indicate disappointment on my part about the guidelines. Actually, the guidelines turned out for me as do many other anticipated events in life: better than expected but not as good as hoped for. So while I was rather pleased with many aspects of the guidelines, I think it is still useful to critique certain points from the point of view of the guidelines' impact on bilingual

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This paper was first presented at the CATESOL Conference in Sacramento, April, 1976.

Mr. Drake is Chairman of the Department of Linguisitics at San Diego State. His previous article on the Lau vs. Nichols decision appeared in Language Learning 25 (1975).

education and on ESL. I have chosen three issues related to particular guidelines and a fourth issue related to the general notion of federal guidelines. Issue: Are the guidelines sufficiently clear and detailed about the meaning and the nature of bilingualism and biculturalism? It is clear that one of the problems with bilingual education programs in the past has been the failure to communicate an adequate definition of "bilingual education" (Nardelli 1976). Operationally this term has meant everything from eradicationalist ESL programs to exclusive second language instruction, and the whole range of choices between. The guidelines do a decent job of sorting out this problem in that they take care to carefully define terms and differences among programs (HEW 1975). However, there are a couple of hints that the problem exists in the guidelines.

One hint that the nature of bilingualism may be oversimplified is contained in section one of the guidelines that deal with "identification of student's primary or home language." Here the guidelines choose to follow the usual educational concern with bilingualism as defined by what sociolinguists call "total performance contrasts." That is, the schools are directed to determine dominant language usage in the major domains of home and school so as to place the student in one of the following categories by language: a) Monolingual non-English speaker, b) Some English, but mostly second language speaker, 3) Bilingual (i.e., "speaks mostly the language other than English, and English with equal ease"), d) Predominantly English, and e) Monolingual English.

This is, of course, a sociolinguistically sound analysis of bilingualism as far as it goes, but it may not go far enough. For example, no mention is made of media variance: the quite different manifestations of language maintenance and variance that one may find among writing, reading and speaking in bilinguals. Nor is there mention of overtness variance: the differences among inner speech, comprehension and production (Fishman 1972: 111-114). Dealing, as the guidelines do, with location of bilingualism, may be necessary but it is probably not sufficient if the needs of the student are to be fully and efficiently met in the development of materials and in the placement of students.

The need is for a combination of interrelated measures of bilingualism (Fishman 1972: 111). The guidelines only nod in this direction by calling for cross validation of the domain dominance with assessment tests--most of which, so far as I can determine, are linguistically naive and at best are a test of interference, ignoring switching, for example, as well as other behaviors that I have mentioned.

In short, I'm afraid the guidelines may continue the traditional oversimplification of the bilingual process and lull schools into assessments and measurements that will lead to instructional dysfunctions.

A second hint to this problem is that for every level of instruction the guidelines allow a fallback position to a "Transitional Bilingual Education Program" (TBE), which is defined as "a program operated in the same manner as a Bilingual/Bicultural Program, except that once the student is fully functional in the second language (English), a further instruction in the native language is no longer needed (HEW 1975: 22)." This program is, of course, the type of program that has operated since the beginning of bilingual programs in the 60's. It is, further, the type of program that Lau vs. Nichols serves to advance us beyond; for TBE has generally led to eradication of the native language and culture. This sort of program may be necessary and even desirable for some students who wish to pursue assimilation by the dominant culture. Most schools then should have such options. We certainly do not wish to prevent assimilation for any minority person who wishes it. At the same time, the guidelines make TBE so available an option for the school at every level, that it is hard to see that there will be any other alternatives chosen, except in those districts where there is a genuine majority, local commitment to bilingual maintenance. If this is so, what use are the guidelines, except to establish the further intrusion of the HEW bureacracy? The guidelines make TBE available in lieu of other options at every level. If the guidelines are to have any wide effect, surely they must in many districts mandate TBE as an option in combination with other programs (cf. Drake 1975), so that students and parents have genuine choices about maintenance of an alternative language and culture. To add to this incongruity, the guidelines sensibly proscribe traditional ESL in some levels because traditional ESL "does not consider the affective nor cognitive development of students..." (HEW 1975: 7). There is no reason why ESL with the addition of a cultural and cognitive component could not serve the same function. In fact, TBE is ESL with a cultural and cognitive component. This curious anomaly in the guidelines, I think, may be the result of an insecurity about the nature of bilingualism.

As many linguists have pointed out (e.g., Jakobovits 1971) bilingualism entails biculturalism. The guidelines in failing to define bilingualism carefully enough allow schools to behave as if bilingualism does not entail biculturalism, and thus allows a fallback to TBE, without options, at every level. It is probable, too, that the TBE fallback is dictated by political considerations, which I will discuss later. I submit that if bilingualism were defined more carefully by the guidelines, that the guidelines could not permit TBE without other options at most levels and still meet obligations vis-avis Lau v. Nichols.

Issue: Does the nature of the guidelines raise unrealistic expectations? One sociolinguist has remarked that, "It would be a mistake to overestimate what any school can accomplish or to overvalue the significance of a student's performance if it is restricted only to the domain of the school itself." (Kjolseth 1973: 4). There are two aspects to the nature of this particular set of guidelines that lead me to recall this remark.

One aspect is the imperative tone of the document that will no doubt give to some a false sense of the possibilities. If the lack of accomplishment in the recent ten or so years has been due largely to reluctance to comply with the law, then the tone of the guidelines may produce some results. If, on the other hand, the reasons for non-accomplishment have also related to the lack of linguistic expertise, or trained teachers and inadequate materials, then, indeed, the guidelines may serve to raise unrealistic expections, for they cannot do much to make up these lackings.

Rather than review those complications here, I propose, instead, to pose a couple of ironies about bilingualism in the United States that may serve to blunt any over-enthusiasm. Realize, for example, that we pride ourselves on our social and educational accomplishments as a nation. During this, our centennial year, while patting ourselves on the back about these things, we are seeking as public policy to create a minimum of stable intra-group bilingualism. At least one half of the world has already accomplished this (Macnamara 1967); in terms of numbers, there are probably more stable bilinguals in the world than there are monolinguals. Many so-called "developing" nations of the third world are far ahead of us in policy making, materials development, teacher training and the use of applied linguists in the area of bilingual education. The United States is virtually alone in not being able to cope with needs for bilingual education (Troike 1975). Why should this be so? Obviously, one important answer lies in our assimilationist attitudes and history that have been so much discussed. It is also becoming more clear that part of the answer lies with our national smugness and complacency about educational goals and processes. The need to create the guidelines under consideration strikes me as a symptom of our complacency and concerns me, in that they may serve to buttress that complacency. The issuance of guidelines by the Office of Civil Rights will itself not create effective programs. The issuance might create a lot of motion and paper to help us believe that something useful is happening.

The second aspect of the guidelines that strikes me as unrealistic involves the limited clientele on which the guidelines impact. One consistent flaw with language planning, including bilingual education, in this country has been the insistence on engineering the minority students only. The entrenched linguistic attitudes and myths of the dominant culture are always accepted as fixed and untouchable. Those linguists and social scientists who have suggested that the enormous time and energy spent on various failed linguistic engineering plans might get better results if applied to changing the unaccepting and parochial attitudes of the majority community have been accused of being unrealistic and living in ivory towers. Perhaps the pot has been calling the kettle black. Rarely have I seen it suggested in any bilingual education plan that bilingualism might work better if there were some linguistic reciprocity between the minority and majority students. The studying, if not the learning, of Spanish, Chinese, or Navajo on the part of majority students might very well affect the ethnocentric attitudes that often stand in the way of bilingual education. Various bilingual studies in Canada, for example, would seem to confirm this (e.g., Lambert and Tucker 1972). This is the sort of catalyst that bilingual education in this country needs. It would serve to legitimize the target language vis-a-vis the dominant language. (It is hard to think poorly of a language you know or have studied with some success; and since bilingualism entails biculturalism, it is also difficult to think poorly of the culture in which the language is spoken). It is possible that any bilingual education plan is unrealistic that does not involve elements of the entire community and that does not work on both the skills and attitudes to the benefit of the entire community.

Issue: Do the guidelines create conflict between educational and legal requirements? Section four, "Required and Elective Courses" addresses the question of preventing course plans which have a discriminatory effect. The document states bluntly that, "there is a prima facie case of descrimination if courses are racially/ethnically identifiable." (HEW 14). The intent of this is clear and difficult to disagree with. Minority students have historically been excluded from certain types of courses as a means of social control--to "keep people in their place." Perhaps jurists may also see a conflict with Brown vs. Board of Education and other integration rulings as a rationale for this guideline. As a non-lawyer I will resist pontificating on the legal aspects, but as a linguist I am inclined to comment on the instructional difficulties that this guideline may produce if rigidly enforced.

The fact is that the psychological, social, and cultural processes associated with language use and with decisions of language shift and maintenance vary significantly among the ethnic groups that one is apt to find in American school rooms. Navajos may behave very differently in terms of these processes than Samoan or Tagalog speakers. Most of these differences lie "outside" of language per se. This is why ESL programs should have cultural and cognitive components of their students, even though they are targeting on linguistic shift rather than linguistic/cultural maintenance. These components dictate instructional methods and materials development. Moreover, the differing culture and cognitive components among groups make it likely that groups will need to be separated at certain times in order to teach them effectively, whether one is dealing with ESL or with bilingual/bicultural instruction. Grouping for cultural homogeneity in order to achieve instructional purposes need not, and should not, be considered discriminatory behavior.

Issue: Are legalistic guidelines the best way of complying with the mandate of Lau vs. Nichols? I don't think so, and have suggested better options elsewhere (Drake 1975). But let me conclude here with suggestions as to why I think the presence of guidelines may compound our present difficulties around bilingual programs.

I have argued (Drake 1975) that language planning (which, after all, is what bilingual programs are part of) entails promises. Promises are necessary to insure enough support to implement the plan (Catron and Lee 1974). In language planning, promises usually take the form of educational success and concomitant social mobility. These are certainly the promises that underlie bilingual education and ESL. The problem in response to Lau vs. Nichols is to make realistic promises through planning effective bilingual programs that at the same time maintain the linguistic/cultural integrity of the individual and the community. The Bilingual Education Acts of the 1960's formulated the promises of educational success into public law. Lau vs. Nichols reaffirmed these promises and went further toward maintaining the linguistic/cultural integrity of non-English speaking individuals and communities. Such legal formulations of promises seem necessary for the present, and may continue to be in the future.

The disadvantage of such legalism is that it separates planning from promising by institutionalizing and unfortunately bureaucratizing sequential steps leading from plan to promise. Granting that our system at present demands a degree of legalism, I submit that we should try to limit it so as to avoid as much as possible the disadvantages. Let me suggest how the present guidelines may go so far as to emphasize the disadvantages of a legalistic policy structure, rather than merely institutionalize the steps to better bilingual education.

For one thing, legalism may merely buy time for unmet promises. For example the promise of the 1960's bilingual legislation depends on the funding (usually federal or state) of the programs. In very few programs have the bilingual programs become part of the regular fiscal structure of the school system. Consequently, as the special legalistic grants of funds dry up, the programs disappear. Then who is to blame?--"after all, there are no more funds" is the lament. The present guidelines have this premise built into their very vocabulary. They speak to the "regular school program" (HEW 7) in opposition to presumed special (i.e., bilingual) programs. As long as schools where they are needed consider bilingual and ESL programs as "special" we have a clear signal that such programs are tentative and vulnerable. Such guidelines as are here considered encourage such thought and further encourage the schools to depend on and seek "soft" money funding.

Second, the imposition of the dense layer of bureaucracy into our institutions that the guidelines will inevitably bring discourages the productive, experimental, creative program development that successful bilingual education so badly needs. If local districts were free and encouraged to bargain for compliance both with local clients and with HEW, one could expect from the resultant diversity a richer and more imaginative mix of programs and solutions from which to choose to meet the needs of bilingual communities. If we really knew how to do bilingual education, to produce adequate materials, to identify and train teachers, relate linguisitc expertise to our programs, and to apply quality controls, then we would be ready for a set of national guidelines. We don't yet know how to do these things. We might learn from a more free-market response to bilingual education within the mandate of Lau vs. Nichols. The present guidelines will tend to produce a sameness and rigidity that will hinder rather than help. They will produce a bureaucratic industry that will exist to maintain itself, as such organizations inevitably do.

Such policy structures as the guidelines reflect and support also tend to be gutless politically. This, as I have remarked above, in part explains the TBE loophole found in the Guidelines. To take a clear stand against the "nation-building," assimilationist bias of TBE as a fallback route around Lau vs. Nichols would endanger the political support upon which such an outfit as HEW must depend for funding. HEW cannot afford to be genuinely controversial. Schools hoping to meet the needs of the hundreds of thousands of non and limited English speaking students cannot afford not to be controversial. This condition together with the TBE loophole in the Guidelines places bilingual education in a Catch-22 position, also known as a double-bind.

I am not arguing against government funding. In fact such funding has been too sparse. But funding should go to such organizations as the Center for Applied Linguistics. Such an organization is able to identify, recruit, and deliver expertise where it is needed. Such an organization is relatively hustler-proof. For example, the CAL developed a master plan for the San Francisco schools in response to the Lau decision. I have reason to believe that some of these recommendations have been adopted into the federal guidelines, which may help account for the guidelines' relatively high quality.

Even if soft money were infinitely available to schools it would be dysfunctional. Nothing I know of corrupts schools, from Kindergarten to universities (and especially universities), more readily and completely than the presence or availability of large amounts of loose, soft money. Bilingual programs in schools are no exception. Look at a number of them and you find some able and committed people doing considerable and significant good with the money. You also find far too often various and sundry hustlers, including fly-by-night consultants, officious bureaucrats and thirty-day-wonder experts, often luxuriating together at hastily called "conferences" in various spas and watering spots. One finds jerry-built curricula, linguistically phoney assessment instruments, and feather-bedding administrators. One finds exploited "paraprofessionals," and well-prepared but perplexed, insecure teachers. In short one finds a lot of money flowing around seeking ratholes to pour down.

Given the enormous reservoir of growing support for bilingual education, this is a pity. Bilingual education may be, as the Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics has recently stated, (Troike 1975) "the greatest single educational movement in the world today." It would be a tragedy that if in this country we were to allow institutional complacency in the guise of guidelines and soft money to keep us from fully realizing the fruits of this movement. I submit that we stand in danger of doing so.

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SOME COMMON GRAMMATICAL ERRORS MADE IN WRITTEN ENGLISH BY CHINESE STUDENTS

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For interested and experienced teachers of English as a second or foreign language to students whose native language is Chinese, there are a number of grammatical errors which continue to reappear in student writings. The errors seem to be largely due to the familiar linguistic experience and habits the students have inadvertently transferred from their native language to English. The purpose of this short paper is to study and explain some of these errors.

Belonging to differenct language groups, Chinese and English do reveal some distinct disparities. Though there has been dispute on whether or not Chinese is a monosyllabic language -- depending on what one means by a "word" -- there is general agreement that it is a language entirely void of inflection. In other words, there is no change in Chinese word forms according to the tense, person, number, or case. This linguistic experience and habit appear to account for many of the grammatical errors Chinese students make in English.

The first significant type of error relates to the students' less than ready willingness to distinguish finite verbs from non-finite verbs in English, a distinction totally absent in their native language. Despite a minor discrepancy in the terminology used by grammarians and linguists, their description of an English clause amounts to one common property: that stretch of utterance which has only one main verb. In a grammatical sentence, for there to be more than one finite verb, there has to be more than one clause, co-ordinate or subordinate; otherwise, the extra finite verb has to be rendered as non-finite, i.e., an infinitive or a participle. On the other hand, since there is no inflection in Chinese word forms, any distinction in form between finite and non-finite verbs is also non-existent. The following sentences are perfectly common and acceptable in Chinese:

(1) 我要他回來. [wǒ yào tā huí-lái]
(I want him to come back.)

(2) 我帶他去. [wǒ dài tā qù]
(I take him with me.)

(3) 你請客到這邊來. [ní qǐng kè dào zhè-biān lái]
(You invite/ask the guest to come this way.)

While translating these sentences into English, I invariably have to reduce the status of all verbs except one in the original Chinese sentence to that of the non-finite. However, literally translated, the above sentences should read:

(4) *I want him return-come.

(5) *I carry/take him go.

(6) *You invite/ask guest reach this side come.

(Editor's Note: The pinyin system of Romanization for Manderin has been used throughout this paper.)

Li Jin-xi labels the second verb or process in each of the Chinese clauses as 再帶補足語 [zài dài bǔ-zú-yǔ] (additional complement).[1] Lu Shu-xiang names it as 補詞 [bǔ-cí] (complement).[2] Wang Li[3] and Lang Jun-zhang[4] refer to it as 遞繫式 [dì-xì-shì] (recursive or pivotal). Chao Yuan-ren considers such as pivotal constructions "A pivotal construction consists of a succession of a verbal expression V1, a nominal expression, and another verbal expression V2, with the nominal expression serving at once as object of V1 and subject of V2."[5] "in general pre-pivotal verbs or link verbs, are of the 'clause to' type..."[6] Such constructions, obviously, are not uncommon in English clauses either, and the additional processes are even similarly named, i.e., complements, the difference being only that these additional processes are realized as non-finites in English. Chinese students therefore have to constantly remind themselves of this distinction between the two languages. Without conscious effort on their part, they often produce unacceptable verb forms in their English clauses as those exemplified in Examples (4), (5) and (6).

The second significant type of error also appears to be closely tied to absence of verb inflection in Chinese vs. the presence of verb inflection in English. Furthermore, there is the interfering factor that while tenses are not recognized in Chinese, they are recognized in English. Chinese only has aspects. According to Hockett, "Tenses typically show different locations of an event in time: I am eating lunch, I was eating lunch ... Aspects have to do, not with the location of an event in time, but with its temporal distribution or contour. They show contrasts of meaning of the following parts: 'He is singing,' 'He has been singing,' 'He sings habitually,' 'He sings repeatedly'..."[7] Whether there are three tenses as traditionally taught in school grammars, or two tenses as increasingly favored by linguists such as Palmer[8] and Chomsky[9], tense contrasts are maintained in English. Certainly, "I am eating lunch" has a different time reference from "I was eating lunch." The verb "to be" is also inflected differently. In Chinese, however, the verb form remains unchanged in each of the following:

(7) 我昨天去. [wǒ zuó-tiān qù]
(I went yesterday; Lit. * I yesterday go)

(8) 我今天去.[10] [wǒ jīn-tiān qù]
(I went/am going today; Lit. *I today go)

(9) 我明天去. [wǒ míng-tiān qù]
(I'll go tomorrow; Lit. *I tomorrow go)

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[1] Li Jin-xi, Xinzhu Guoyu Wenfa (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1924, 1955) pp. 18-21.

[2] Lu Shu-xiang, Zhongguo Wenfa Yaolue (1942, 1956), pp. 42-53.

[3] Wang Li, Zhongguo Xiandai Yufa Part I (Shanghai, 1947) pp. 182-200.

[4] Lang Jun-zhang, Hanyu Yufa, pp. 43-47.

[5] Chao Yuan-Ren, A Grammar of Spoken Chinese (California: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 125-126.

[6] Ibid., p. 128.

[7] Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguisitics (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1958), p. 237.

[8] F. R. Palmer, A Linguistic Study of the English Verb (London: Longmans, 1965).

[9] Noam Chomsky, Syntatic Structures ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957) and Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965), etc.

The time of reference is not indicated formally in the verb, but requires the help of a time adjunct, and even then, the exact reference may still be ambiguous. The progressive aspect and the perfective aspect in Chinese are established by attaching the particle "着" [zhe] or "在" [zai] (-ing) and the particle "了" [le] or "過" [guo] (-ed/-en) respectively after the verb.

(10) 我等着他. [wǒ děng-zhe tā]
(I am/was waiting for him; Lit. *I wait + progressive participle him)

我在等他. [wǒ zài-děng tā]
(I am/was waiting for him; Lit. *I progressive particle + wait him)

(11) 我去過/了. [wǒ qù-guo / le]
(I went/have gone; Lit. *I go + perfective participle)

Chinese students have little difficulty in accepting the -ing or -ed/-en forms in English, but when in haste or when not concentrating, they often shift their tenses in English -- for example, from past to present, and then back to the past-- even though the point of reference is exactly the same from the beginning to the end, as in the following sequence:

(12) *Yesterday I studied hard; then I took a break, before I write three letters home.

Closely connected with the first two types of errors is a third type. Modern English, though much less inflected than French, Italian, Spanish and German, still maintains that a verb, when following a third person singular noun, and when used in the present tense, should add an "s", as in:

(13) Mary sings.

(14) John swims.

However, when the noun is in the third person, but plural, or when the tense of the verb is the past, no "s" is necessitated:

(15) The students go back to school.

(16) Mary sang.

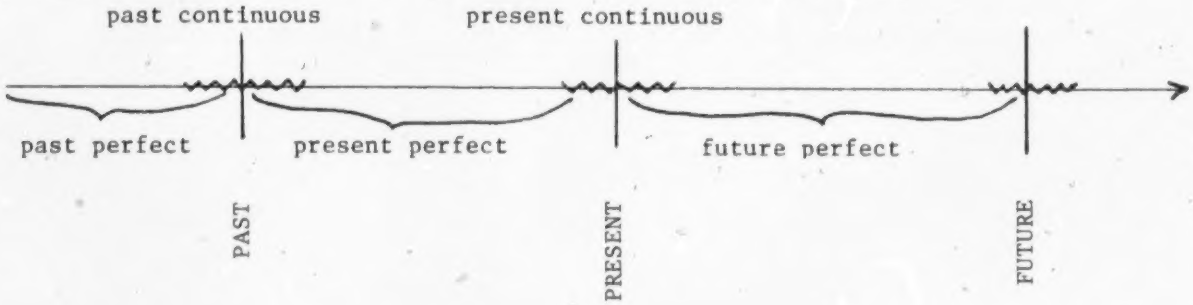
Chinese students tend to omit the third-person singular "s" in the present tense, possibly because inflection is a new linguistic experience and habit for them. Chinese speakers frequently say:

(17) *He go to school every day.

In the classroom it seems sensible to me to deal with these three types of pro together, at least initially. The fact of inflection in the English language--no matter how limited--should be promptly presented to Chinese students as one characteristic that markedly distinguishes English from their native language. Ample illustrations, particularly with the verb, should be provided. Then, each of the three problem types can be approached separately.

Once the students have recognized inflection as an important feature in their target language, they are ready to learn further that there is the distinction between the finite verb and the non-finite verb, i.e., "go" vs. "going" or "to go." I have found it simplest to explain to the students, after they have demonstrated certain mastery in the identification of the finite verb as different from the non-finite, that every simple sentence requires only one **finite** verb. They are asked to count the number of verbs in each sentence as an essential part of their proofreading. If they should find more than one finite verb, they have to consider correction by choosing one of the following three alternatives. First, they may change the simple sentence into a compound sentence by providing appropriate co-ordinators. Second, they may change the simple sentence into a complex (or compound-complex) sentence by changing part of the sentence into a subordinate clause. Third, they may change all the finite verbs but one into non-finite verbs. Either one of the three choices should yield an equally acceptable sentence.

As for the tenses, they have been most successfully taught graphically. The "traditional" tense contrasts are presented in a linear relationship:



While teaching the tenses, it is important to add the special word of caution that the simple present tense does not necessarily indicate an action or a state of being in the immediate present. It is, rather, generally used to indicate a habit or a fact. Chinese students tend to overuse the simple present tense, not realizing that what they should use instead, more often than not, is the present continuous tense. When the students are writing, they are reminded to check their tenses against this chart, either literally or mentally.

The subject-verb agreement problem naturally requires an understanding of the three-way distinction of the first person, second person, and the third person, a concept which poses no serious difficulty. The difficulty lies more in helping the students to remember that following a third person, singular noun, a verb--when used in the present tense--should add an "s". I usually attempt reinforcement with correction symbols. If the subject and verb do not agree, I emphasize the error by using not only the abbreviation "agr," but also an arrow ↛, joining together the subject and the verb, thus making the disagreement obvious to students.

The fourth error easily recognizable among Chinese students is a different kind of problem -- one that has little to do with inflection. One of the first rules taught about English in school is that when a common noun is used in the singular, an article, definite (i.e., "the") or indefinite (i.e., "a", "an"), must be used. It is simply outrageous as well as ungrammatical to write:

(17) *I saw flower.

(18) *Cow is eating grass.

On the other hand, the above clauses literally translated into Chinese make perfectly acceptable and grammatical utterances:

(19) 我看見花. [wǒ kàn-jiàn huā]
(I saw/see flower/flowers; Lit. *I see flower)

(20) 牛在吃草. [níu zai - chī cǎo]
(The cow/cows is/was/are/were eating grass; Lit. Cow progressive particle + eat grass)

Notice also that there is no inflection in the Chinese noun to differentiate the singular number from the plural. Unless the particle "們 " [men] (-s) is deliberately added after the noun--an infrequent though grammatical practice--much of the interpretation relies on the context. Numerals are sometimes used before Chinese nouns, just as numerals are used before English nouns, but the grammatical function is totally separated from and incompatible with that of the article in English. Teachers of English may often be frustrated when the articles are found missing in the English written by their Chinese students, but perhaps will try to be more tolerant knowing how this new linguistic habit is, to say the least, bewildering to their students. From experience, I have found it helps simply to ask the students to pick out all the nouns in the essays they have just written and which they are proofreading, and check to see if they are count nouns. If any of these is indeed countable and is used in the singular, an article must be supplied.

The fifth error is one of redundancy in the use of such transitional words as "although," "though," "even though," and "but." Chinese students frequently use both together in the same sentence, even though one alone suffices. This error again appears to stem from the different nature of their native language, "雖然" [suī-rán] and "但是 " [dàn-shì] are close translations of "although" and "but" respectively. It is not only perfectly acceptable, but also quite necessary, to use them both together in a Chinese utterance. For instance,

(21) 朱家雖然窮, 但是很快樂. [zhū-jiā suī-rán qióng dàn-shì hěn kuài-lè]
(Even though the Chu family are poor, but they are very happy; Lit. *Chu family although poor but very happy)

This error can be easily corrected by singling out the problem and explaining it on the blackboard right at the beginning of the semester, making an impression on the students. Subsequent reminders will then reinforce the impression.

Finally, I would like to mention not so much an error, but an irritation. Whereas the tendency in an English clause is to say or write, "My father and I went out together," placing "I" after any other co-subjects, Chinese students are more prone to writing, "I and my father went out together," because that is the normal order of expression in Chinese:

(22) 我和父親一道出去. [wǒ hé fù-qīn yí-dào chū-qù]
(I and Father went out together; Lit. * I and father one-road exit-go)

To write "I and my father" is no serious offense, of course, but it does sound egotistic and awkward to the native English ear, and is stylistically frowned upon unless special implication is intended. Personally, I have always found that if a simple explanation does not help, some additional light-hearted teasing of their "egotism" will usually put an end to the problem.